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1917

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# THE LITERATURE OF THE INVENTION OF PRINTING

## A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL STUDY

BY AKSEL G. S. JOSEPHSON

THE bibliographical study of which the present is the first instalment has been in preparation for a number of years. While a couple of hundred titles, chiefly taken from the material in the John Crerar Library, had been collected previously to 1907, the real work on the list was begun in that year when, during a visit to Sweden, I spent with fair regularity, during the better part of the months of January and February, a couple of hours each day at the University Library at Upsala, copying from Bigmore and Wyman's *Bibliography of Printing* the titles of the books dealing with the invention. Later, the notes in van der Linde's *Gutenberg*, Bruun's *Bogtrykkerkunstens Opfindelse*, and a few other works called attention to a number of additional titles. The catalogues of the Library of the London Patent Office, of the Börsenverein Bibliothek in Leipzig, the Royal Library at The Hague, the Boston Public Library, etc., were consulted and many titles added from these sources. Wolf's *Monumenta Typographica*, 1640, added some titles of earlier dates, not previously found. Thanks are due Mr. E. Wyndham Hulme, of the British Patent Office, for

the titles of a number of Dutch pamphlets in collective volumes in that library, and especially to Mr. R. A. Peddie, who with the greatest kindness added a large number of titles of books in the British Museum.

I am well aware that my present collection of some 1,850 titles does not represent a complete record of the literature of this subject. But as the preparation of the material for printing progresses, search will be made for additional titles; the sources of information are not unavailable. It might be of some interest to show how the material at hand is divided chronologically: Fifteenth century, twenty-nine titles; sixteenth century, 30 titles; seventeenth century, 155 titles, of which 39 are credited to the year 1640, when the two hundredth anniversary of the reputed date of the invention was celebrated; eighteenth century, 286 titles, of which 120 are from the third centennial year, 1740; nineteenth century, 1,161 titles, divided as follows: 234 before the fourth centennial, 226 in the year 1840, 259 from 1841 to 1869, when van der Linde first began his studies of the "Haarlem legend," 282 from that year to the celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of Gutenberg's birth in 1900, 160 in 1900 (the record for this year cannot be completed without consulting the extensive collections in the Gutenberg Museum in Mainz); of titles after that year, 200 (no systematic effort has been made as yet to collect other titles for this period than those that have come to my personal notice or are recorded in Hortschansky's *Bibliographie des Bibliotheks- und Buchwesens*).



## I. The Fifteenth Century

The principal sources of information used in gathering the titles for the present instalments have been Dr. Heinrich Heidenheimer's study, "Vom Ruhme Gutenbergs" in the smaller Mainzer *Festschrift* of 1900, and the article on "Typography," by Mr. J. H. Hessels, in the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. A catalogue issued in 1910 by Joseph Baer & Co., in Frankfurt a. M., also yielded some titles. The majority of the quotations have been made from Mr. Alfred W. Pollard's *Essay on Colophons*, from his *Catalogue of books mostly from the presses of the first printers . . . collected by Rush C. Hawkins and deposited in the Annmary Brown Memorial*, and from the British Museum *Catalogue of books printed in the fifteenth century*; others from books in the Harvard College Library, the John Carter Brown Library, the New York Public Library, the Newberry Library, and the library of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan; others from rotographs of copies in the British Museum, furnished through the kind assistance of Mr. H. Thomas. Thanks are due also to Mr. Charles Martel, of the Library of Congress, especially for an analysis of the passages in the various editions of Rolevinck's *Fasciculus temporum*.

It is quite likely that notes and references on the invention of printing may be found in incunabula not mentioned in the following list. Any information about such references will be appreciated.

1457

**Psalterium.** Mainz: Johann Fust & Peter Schoeffer, 14. Aug. 143 leaves. *Hain* 13479.

Colophon refers to the invention of printing as being brought to completion by Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer: "Presens psalmorum [*i.e.*, psalmorum] codex venustate capitalium decoratus Rubricationibusque sufficienter distinctus, Adinuentione artificiosa imprimendi ac caracterizandi absque calami vlla exaracione sic effigiatus, Et ad eusebiam dei industrie est consummatus, Per Johannem fust ciuem maguntinum, Et Petrum Schoffer de Gernszheim Anno domini Millesimo. cccc. lvij In vigilia Assumpcionis."

This colophon was repeated with slight alterations in the Psalter of 1459, the Durandus of the same year, the Clementine Constitutions of 1460, and the Bible of 1462, while variations of it occur in several of Schoeffer's later books, some of which are quoted below.

1460

**Balbus, Johannes.** Catholicon. Mainz: [Johann Gutenberg?]. 373 leaves. *Hain* 2254.

Colophon contains reference to the invention of printing in Germany using expressions that seem to indicate that its writer was the inventor:

"Altissimi presidio cuius nutu infantium lingue fiunt disertæ, Quique numerosepe paruulis reuelat quod sapientibus celat, Hic liber egregius, catholicon, dominice incarnationis annis Mcccclx Alma in urbe maguntina nationis inclite germanice, Quam dei clemencia tam alto ingenij lumine, donoque gratuito, ceteris terrarum nacionibus preferre, illustrareque dignatus est, Non calami, stili, aut penne suffragio, sed mira patroonarum formarumque concordia proporcione et modulo, impressus atque confectus est."

1465

**Bonifacius VIII.** Liber sextus Decretalium. Mainz: Johann Fust & Peter Schoeffer, 17. Dec. 142 leaves. *Hain* \*3586.

Colophon combines those of 1457 and 1460 as follows: "Presens huius sexti decretalium preclarum opus. non atramento. plumali canna neque aerea. sed artificiosa quadam adinuentione imprimendi. seu caracterizandi sic effigiatum. et ad eusebiam dei industrie est consummatum per Johannem fust ciuem moguntinum et Petrum schoeffer de gernssheym. Anno domini. M. cccc. sexagesimo quinto. Die vero decima-septima mensis decembris."

1467

**Thomas de Aquino.** Summa, secunda secundæ. Mainz: Peter Schoeffer, 6. March. 258 leaves. *Hain* \*1459.

**Clemens V.** Constitutiones. Mainz: Peter Schoeffer, 8. Oct. 65 leaves. *Hain* \*5411.

The colophons of these two books contain identical statements, to wit: "[Hoc] opus . . . Alma in vrbe moguntina inclite nationis germanice. quam dei clementia tam alti ingenij lumine donoque gratuito. ceteris terrarum nacionibus preferre illustrareque dignatus est. Artificiosa quadam adinuentione imprimendi seu caracterizandi absque vlla calami exaratione sic effigiatum. et ad eusebiam dei industrie est consummatum per Petrum schoeffer de gernssheim."

**Vocabularius ex quo.** Eltville: Nicolaus Bechtermüntze & Wiegandt Spyess, 4. Nov. 166 leaves.

Colophon contains phrases or words from those of 1457 and 1460: "Presens hoc opusculum non stili aut penne suffragio sed noua artificiosaque inuentione quadam ad eusebiam dei industrie per henricum bechtermuncze pie memorie in altaiilla est inchoatum et demum sub anno domini M. cccc. l. xvij ipso die leonardi confessoris, qui fuit quarta die mensis nouembris, per nycolaum bechtermuncze fratrem dicti henrici et Wygandum spyesz de orthenberg est consummatum."

1468

**Justinianus.** Institutiones. Mainz: Peter Schoeffer, 24. May.  
103 leaves. *Hain* 9489.

The colophon repeats portions of previous Schoeffer colophons, and the corrector, Magister Franciscus, speaks in an allegorical poem following it of two Johannes in Mainz as "librorum insignes prothocaragmaticos," but of Petrus as the first to enter the sepulcher: "Presens institutionum preclarum opus Alma in vrbe maguntina inclite nationis germanice. quam dei clementia tam alti ingenij lumine. donoque gratuito. ceteris terrarum nationibus preferre. illustrareque dignatus est. non atramento calami. non plumali canna. neque erea. sed artificiosa quadam adinuencione imprimendi seu caracterizandi sic effigiatum et ad eusebiam dei. industrie est consummatum per Petrus schoyffer de Gernssheim. Anno dominice incarnationis. Millesimo cccc. lxxvii. vicesimaquarta die mensis Maij. E N D .

"Scema tabernaculi moises salamonque tempti  
Haut propter ingenuos proficiunt dedalos  
Sic deus ecclesie maius maior salomone  
Jam renouans. renouat beselehel & hyram  
Hos dedit eximios sculpendi in arte magistros  
Cui placem eu mactos arte sagie viros  
Quous genuit ambos vrbs maguntina iohannes  
Librorum insignes prothocaragmaticos  
Cum quibus optatum petrus venit ad poliandrum  
Cursu posterior introeundo prior  
Quippe quibus prostat sculpendi lege sagitus  
A solo dante lumen & ingenium  
Natio queque suum poteit repetire caragma  
Secum. nempe stilo prominet omnigeno," etc.

**Hieronymus.** Tractatus et epistolae. Rome: [Conrad Sweynheym & Arnold Pannartz], 13. Dec. 2 vol. 302, 329 leaves. *Hain* 8551.

The editor, Johannes Andreae, mentions, in the dedication, the invention of gunpowder, and then speaks as follows of printing as having been invented in Germany: "Eiusmodi est enim impressorum nostrorum & characteres effingentium artificium: ut uix inter hominum inuenta: non modo noua: sed ne uetera quidem: quicunque excellentioris inuenti possit referri. Digne honoranda seculisque omnibus magnificianda profecto germania est: utilitarum inuentrix maximarum."

Other editions, 1470, and by Peter Schoeffer in Mainz, 1470 and 1476.



1471

**Plinius, Caius Caecilius, Secundus.** *Epistolarum libri novem.* Venice: [Christoph Valdarfer], 4. May. 122 leaves. *Hain* 13110.

Ludovicus Carbo speaks, in his dedication to Duke Borsico of Modena, of the Germans as having invented printing: "Adeo late pateat Romana & Græca facundia ut iam & Galli & Britanni bonos oratores & poetas habere uideantur: ad quam quidem rem commodissimum adiumentum præstiterunt nobilissima Germanorum ingenia: quam artificiosissimas imprimendorum librorum formas excogitarunt ut sapientissimorum auctorum plurima simul eodem temporis momento uolumina in promptu eient: omnesque utilissimi codices & in magna copia: & leuiore sumptu pavari possent:" etc.

**Quintilianus, Marcus Fabius.** *Institutiones oratoriæ.* Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 21. May. 211 leaves. *Hain* 13647.

The editor, Ognibene de Lonigo, refers in the following manner to Jenson as the inventor of printing: "Accedebant justæ preces magistri Nicolai Jenson Gallici alterius (ut vere dicam) Dædali: qui librariæ artis mirabilis inventor: non ut scribantur calamo libri: sed veluti gemma imprimantur: ac prope sigillo primus omnium ingeniose monstravit."

1472

**Fichet, Guillaume.** *Epistola ad Robertum Gaguinum.* [Paris: Ulrich Gering], n.d. 5 leaves.

Speaks of Gutenberg as the inventor of printing and having resided not far from Mainz: "De studiorum humanitatis restitutione loquor. Quibus (quantum ipse coniectura capio) magnum lumen novorum librariorum genus attulit. quos nostra memoria (sicut quondam equus troianus) quoquo versus effudit Germania. Ferunt enim illic, haud procul a civitate Maguncia Ioanne quendam fuisse, cui cognomen bonemontano. qui primus omnium impressoriam artem excogitauerit. qua non calamo (ut prisca quidem illi) neque penna (ut nos fingimus) sed æris litteris libri finguntur. & quidem expedite, polite, & pulchre."

**Barzizza, Gasparino da.** *Epistolæ.* Basel: Michael Wenssler, n.d. 60 leaves. *Hain* 2675.

The verso of the first leaf contains the following verses referring to the invention of printing in Mainz:

"Quos legis vnde tibi si queras forte libelli

Mittantur. pressos dat basilea scias  
Hanc facit egregiam Rheni nunquam moritura  
Fauna. simul studij gloria clara sui.  
Terra ferax pecorum, cerere et bachoque referta  
Est tamen hoc aliquid. associasse sibi  
Artem pressuræ quanquam moguncia finxit  
Elimo traxit hanc basilea tamen  
Littera quecunque est hac toto codice pressa," etc.

- Gratianus.** Decretum cum glossis. Mainz: Peter Schoeffer,  
13. Aug. 413 leaves. *Hain* \*7885.

Colophon, by omitting the words "inclite nacionis Germanici" (from the 1460 and following colophons) assigns the blessings of the invention to Mainz: ". . . in nobili urbe Moguncia que nostros apud maiores aurea dicta: quam diuina etiam clementia dono gratuito per ceteris terrarum nationibus arte impressoria dignata est illustrare: hoc presens Gratiani decretum suis cum rubricis: non atramentali penna cannaue: sed arte quadam ingeniosa imprimendi: cunctipotente adspiranti deo Petrus schoiffer de Gernssheym suis consignando scutis: feliciter consummavit."

1474

- Riccobaldus Ferrariensis.** Chronica summorum pontificum imperatorumque. Rome: Joh. Phil. de Lignamine, 14. July.  
130 leaves. *Hain* \*10857.

Ascribed by Hain to one Martinus Polonus.

Edited, with additions, by J. P. de Lignamine. Contains under date of 1459 the following reference to the printing of books from type by Gutenberg, Fust, and Mentelin: "Jacobus cognominato Gutenbergo: patria Argentinus & quidam alter cui nomen Fustus imprimendarum litterarum in membranis cum metallicis formis periti trecentas cartas quisque eorum per diem facere innotescunt apud Maguntiam Germaniæ civitatem. Iohannes quoque Mentelinus nuncupatus apud Argentinam ejusdem provinciae civitatem: ac in eodem artificio peritus totidem cartas per diem imprimere agnoscitur."

Repeated in the edition printed in Rome in 1476 by Johannes Schurener.

1476

- Justinianus.** Institutiones. Mainz: Peter Schoeffer, 23. May.  
103 leaves. *Hain* \*9498.

The colophon affirms that this edition was printed "in nobile vrbe Maguncia Rheni, impressorie artis inventrice elimatriceque prima."

**Rolevinck, Werner.** *Fasciculus temporum.* Köln: Conrad de Homburch, 8. Nov. 73 leaves. *Hain* \*6919.

Contains under the year 1457 the following statement about the invention of printing in Mainz: "Artifices mira celeritate subtiliores solito fiunt. Et impressores librorum multiplicantur in terra ortus sue artis habentes in Maguntia."

The two editions of 1474, also printed in Köln, one by Arnold ter Hoerner, the other (second) by Nicolaus Gotz, have the same statement down to and including the words "multiplicantur in terra," but have no reference to the invention in Mainz.

In 1481 an edition of this book was printed in Rougemont, by Heinrich Wirczburg, containing the reference to the invention in a somewhat different form, thus: "Librorum impressionis scientia subtilissima omnibus seculis inaudita circa hec tempora reperitur in urbe maguntina. Hec est ars artium, scientia scientiarum per cuius celeritatis exercitationem thesaurus desiderabilis sapientie et scientie quem omnes homines per instinctum nature desiderat. qui de profundis latibularum tenebris persiliens. mundum hunc in maligno positum dictat pariter et illuminat."

One of these three references recurs in each of the thirty-eight other editions of this book, printed in the fifteenth century. The Dutch translation, printed in 1480 in Utrecht, by Jan Veldmer, has the following version: "Die constenaers ghemeenlick in allen constensijn in corten tijden seer schielike veel subtijlre gheworden dan si pleghen te wesen En die boeck printers worden seer vermenicht in allen landen."

1478

**Gaguin, Robert.** *Ars versificatoria.* [Paris: Ulrich Gering], n.d. 28 leaves. *Hain* 7421.

At least three later editions were printed before 1501, two with title "De arte metrificanda."

An epigram by the author refers to the invention of printing in Germany:

**In laudem artis impressorie Roberti gaguini Epigramma.**

Nos quotiens sumes lector venerande libellos

Artificum totiens semper amabis opus.

Quod cita vix poterat prescribere dextra quotannis

Mense dat ars. nec inest sordida menda libro

Pluris erat nuper calamo ruganda papyrus:

Quam modo pregrandis veniat ipse codex.

Hoc tulit inuentum fœlix germania terris

Artis & ingenii nobile scema sui.



Iacobus cognom̃to Gutenberggo: patria  
Arg̃ntinus & quidam alter cui nom̃en  
Fultus imprimendaz litteraz in mem/  
branis cum metallicis formis petiti tre/  
centas cartas quibz eoz p diem facere  
innotescūt apud Maguntia Germanie  
ciuitatem. Iohannes quoq; Mentelinus  
nuncupatus apud Argentinam eiusdem  
p̃uincie ciuitatem: ac in eodem artificio  
peritus totidem cartas p diem iprimere  
agnoscitur.

From RICCOBALDUS FERRARIENSIS: CHRONICA SUMMORUM PONTIFICUM  
IMPERATORUMQUE, 1474 (Copy in Annmary Brown Memorial)

			Quantū litterarū studiosi Germanis debeant
			nullo satis dicēdi genere exprimi possēt. Nāq;
			a Joanne Gutenberg Zūiungē equiti Magū
			tiē rheni solenti igenio librorū Imprimēdor
			ratio 1440. iuenta: hoc tēpe i oēs fere orbis par
			tes ppagat: q̃ omnis antiquitas paruo gr̃e cōpa
			rata: posteriorib⁹ infinitis voluminib⁹ legitur.

From EUSEPIUS: CHRONICON, 1483 (Copy in Harvard College Library)

Artifices mira celeritate subtiliores solito fiūt. Et ip̃ressores li  
broz multiplicant in terra octū sue artis habētes in Magūtia.

From WERNER ROLEVINCK: FASCICULUS TEMPORUM, 1476 (Copy in The Library of Congress)

**A**rs imprimendi libros huius temporibus primū in Germania enata ē. Quātim igit̃ literarū studiū  
Germanis debeant. nullo satis dicendi genere exprimi potest. hanc apud in aguntia rhemi urbem so  
lerti ingenio librorū imprimendorū ratio. i. 4. 40. inuenta fuisse auit. Hoc tempore in omēs fere orbis pres  
ppagatur. quā omnis antiquitas paruo ere cōparata a posterioribus infinitis volumibus legitur. Eius  
laudes antea in probemio operis prehabite sunt. Quā certe nulla dignior. nulla laudabilior. aut utilior  
esse potuit. Qd̃ si hec ars effluxit temporibus viguisset maxima pars operū Terentii et Tullius de re publi  
ca ac Plinius de bellis germanice aliq̃ p̃clara opera a malignitate temporū amissa nō fuissent. Ideo in ei⁹  
laudem quidā hos cecinit versus. O felix nostris memorāda impetio seclis. Desierat quasi totū qd̃ sum⁹  
dis in orbe. Omēs te summis igit̃ nūc laudibus ornent. Inuictore nacent vtrāq̃ lingua tuo. Nunc paruo  
doctus quilibet esse potest. Te duce qm̃ ars hec mira reperta fuit.

From HARTMANN SCHEDEL: LIBER CRONICARUM, 1493 (Copy in New York Public Library)

**H**oc anno salutifera doctrinarum omnium imprimendorum librorū Inuentio im  
ars auctore Ioanne Gutember germano reperta est. primendi

From DONATUS BOSSIUS: CRONICA BOSSIANA, 1492 (Copy in Annmary Brown Memorial)

**A**rs imprimendi libros bis ip̃ibus i Germania p̃mū inuenta est: quā ali⁹ rep̃ta afferūt Cōsēbgo argentino.  
Alij a quodā alio noīe Suisso. Quā certe nulla in mūdo dignior: nulla laudabilior: aut utilior: siue diuinior  
aut sanctior esse possit. In cuius qdē laude quidā ex nostris hos cecinit versūs dicētes.

From J. P. FORESTI: SUPPLEMENTUM CRONICARUM, 1483 (Copy in Annmary Brown Memorial)

1479

**Tortellius, Johannes.** *Commentariorum grammaticorum de orthographia dictionum e graecis tractarum opus.* Vicenza: Stephan Koblinger, 15. Jan. 345 leaves. *Hain* 15566.

At end:

Hieronymi [Bononi] "Carmen in primi impressoris commendationem":

Tingere dispositis chartas quicunque metallis.

Coepit: & insignes edidit aere notas:

Mercurio genitore fatus: genitrice Minerva

Præditus æthereæ femine mentis erat

Non illum ceceris: non illum cura Lyæi

Terrenæ tenuit non opis ullus amor.

Copia librorum cupidis modo rara latinis

Cum foret. auspiciis illius ampta venit

Improbis innumeris librarius ante talentis

Quod dabat: exigua nunc stipe vendit opus.

Historiæ venere Titi. se Plinius omni.

Gymnasio iactant Tullius atque Maro.

Nullum opus o nostri felicem temporis artem

Cellat in arcano bibliotheca situ.

Quem modo rex. quem vix princeps modo rarus habebat

Quisque sibi librum pauper habere potest

Redditus hac etiam nuper Tortellius arte

Plurimus. escribas qua ratione docet.

Hunc eme qui lingua cultus cupis esse latina

Hunc eme grammaticus qui cupis esse bonus.

Quæ geminanda notis fuerit tibi syllaba. simplex

Quæ ve sit. exilis. densa ve. doctus eris.

Postmodo qui fuerit tibi grato si commodus usu.

Has memor assiduus plausibus ede preces

Artifici semper faveant pia numina sancto

Utilis effluxit cuius ab arte liber.

1483

**Eusebius, Pamphilus.** *Chronicon* a S. Hieronymo latine versum et ab eo Prospero Britannico et Mattheo Palmerio continuatum. Venice: Erhard Ratdolt pro J. L. Santritter, 13. Sept. 182 leaves. *Hain* \*6717.

Contains under the year 1457 the following reference to Gutenberg as the inventor of printing in 1440: "Quantum literarum studiosi Germanis



debeant nullo satis dicendi genere exprimi posset. Namque a Joanne Gutenberg Zumiungen equiti Maguntiae rheni solerti ingenio librorum Imprimendorum ratio 1440. inventa: hoc tempore in omnes fere orbis partes propagantur: quam omnis antiquitas parvo aëre comparata: posterioribus infinitis voluminibus legitur."

Repeated in later editions: 1512, etc.

**Foresti, Jacobus Philippus, (Bergomensis).** Supplementum chronicarum. Venice: Bernardinus Benalius, 23. Aug. 306 leaves. *Hain* 2805.

Mentions under the year 1458 Gutenberg and Fust as reputed inventors of printing: "Ars imprimendi libros his temporibus in Germania primum enata est: quam alii repertam asserunt a Joanne Cutembergo argentino: alii a quodam nomine Fusto alij a Nicholao Jenson praedicant: qua certe nulla in mundo dignior, nulla laudabilior: aut utilior: sive diviniior, et sanctior esse potuit. In cuius quidem laude quidam ex nostris hos cecinit versus dicens.

O felix nostris memoranda impressio sedis  
Inventore nitet utraque lingua tuo:  
Desierat quasi totum quod fundis in orbem  
Nunc paruo doctus quilibet esse potest  
Omnes te summis igitur nunc laudibus ornent  
Te duce quando ars hec mire reperta fuit."

1486 and later editions omit the name of Nicholaus Jenson.

#### 1492

**Bossius, Donatus.** Cronica bossiana. Milan: A. Zarotus, 1. March. 168 leaves. *Hain* 3676.

Contains under date of 1457 the following mention of Gutenberg as the inventor of printing: "Hoc anno salutifera doctrinarum omnium imprimendorum librorum ars auctore Joanne Gutember germano reperta est."

**Chronik der Sachsen.** Mainz: Peter Schoeffer, 1492, 6. March. 284 leaves. *Hain*\* 4990.

Colophon states that the book was printed "In der eddelen stat Mencz. die eyn angefangk is der prenterey."

#### 1493

**Schedel, Hartmann.** Liber cronicarum. Nürnberg: Anton Koberger, 12. July. 320 leaves. *Hain* 14508.

This edition mentions under date of 1464 thus the invention of printing in 1440: "Ars imprimendi libros hijs temporibus primum in

germania enata est Quantum igitur litterarum studiosi germanis debeant. nullo satis dicendi genere exprimi potest. hanc apud maguntiam rheni vrbem solerti ingenio librorum imprimendorum ratio. 1440. inventam fuisse aiunt. Hos tempore in omnes fere orbis partes propagatur," etc.

The 1497 edition contains a curious misprint: "urbis pertes porpagatur."

The German edition, printed in December, 1493, has it that "Kunst der truckerey hat sich erstlich in teutschem lannd in der statt Mainz am Rhein gelegen im iar Cristi Mccccxl erzeugt. unnd hiervon schier in alle örter der werlt auszgespreuszt."

## 1494

**Werner von Themar, Adam.** Panegyris ad Ioannem Gensfleisch primum librorum impressorem.

According to Heidenheimer, this was first printed in Älteste Buchdruckergeschichte von Bamberg, von P. Placidus Sprenger. Nürnberg: Grattauer, 1800. Dr. Haebler, however, writes me that he has seen it attached to one of the many thousands of incunabula which have gone through his hands lately, though he could not place it at the time of writing. The following reprint of the text is taken from an article about Werner by Hartfelder in *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, Vol. 33, 1880, to which my attention was called by Mr. H. Thomas of the British Museum.

"PANEGYRIS AD JOANNEM GENSFLEISCH, PRIMUM  
LIBRORUM IMPRESSOREM

Ansicaro, vigili praestantior ansere, Romam  
Qui monuit, Gallos limini inesse canens,  
Arcem is seruabat, vasto tu consulis orbi,  
Qui se felicem non negat arte tua.  
Si conferre libet, diuinae inuenta Mineruae  
Et tua spectentur, cuncta pudore rubent.  
Praeterea auctores operis mirabilis omnes,  
Se iactare quibus secula prisca volunt:  
Dedalus ingenii laudatus acumine cedat  
Et tibi, qui melior Alchimetonte fuit;  
Post te vafer eat Sisiphus, tibi clarus Apelles  
Judice se palmam Parrasiusque ferat.  
Protulit haud simile, quamuis spirantia signa  
Solers mirifice fingere quisque fuit.

Tanti est te littris sculpta excudisse metalla,  
 Quae effundant fidas tam cito pressa notas.  
 Hinc tua, si possit, dignas Moguntia grates  
 Solueret ante alia, quam colis ipse, loca,  
 Terraque iam multo Germana volumine diues  
 Te colit inuento facta beata tuo.  
 Italia, ex nostris quae hanc mendicauerat artem  
 Emula, grata tibi non pudet usque fore.  
 Ecce tua innumeras intus, laetare, per urbes  
 Feruet et auctorem te probat esse suum.  
 Viue, vale, Ansicaro! Latii iactantia spectet  
 Et doleat talem non genuisse virum.

Ex Heidelbergo III Kal. Decembres 1494.

**1495**

**Wimpfeling, Jacobus.** Oratio querulosa contra invasores sacerdotum. [Köln: Heinrich Quentell], n.d. 8 leaves. *Hain 12026*.

Mentions on fol. 3b thus the invention of printing in Mainz: "Constat enim olim bombardas & nostris iam, temporibus Cachographiam [!] hoc est impressoriam artem in nobilissima germanie Vrbe Maguncia fuisse repertam."

**1499**

**Die Cronica van der hilliger Stat van Coellen.** Köln: Johann Koelhoff, 23. Aug. 366 leaves. *Hain 4989*.

Contains on leaves 311-312 a chapter entitled:

"Van der boychdrucker kunst, Wanne, wae ind durch wen is vonden dye unuyssprechlich nutze kunst boicher tzo drucken." *See facsimile.*

This chapter contains Ulrich Zell's version of the invention:

"Item wie wail die kunst is vonden zo Mentz, als vurss is, up die wise als dann nu gemeynlich gebrucht wird, so is doch die eyrste vurbyldung vonden in Holland viss den Donaten, die daselfst vur der tziyt gedruckt syn," etc. And farther on it is stated that "der eyrste vynder der druckerye is gewest eyn Burger tzo Mentz ind was geboren van Straissburch. ind hiesch joncker Johan Gudenburch."



**Vergilius, Polydorus.** De rerum inventoribus libri iii. Venice: Christopher de Pensis, 31. Aug. 88 leaves, *Hain* \*16008.

Book 2, chap. 7: "Qui primi libros ediderunt, & de prima bibliotheca: & à quo, aut ubi usus imprimendarum literarum primo inventus," speaks of printing as invented in Mainz by a German, Peter by name. "Quidam itaque Germanus nomine Petrum (ut ab eius conterraneis accepimus) primus omnium in oppido Germaniæ quam hodie Maguntiam uocant: hanc imprimendarum litterarum artem excogitauit: primumque ibi ea exerceri cœpit: non minori industria reperto ab eodem (prout ferunt) auctore nouo atramenti genere: quo nunc impressores tantum utuntur."

**Marsilius ab Inghen.** Oratio continens dictiones, clausulas et elegantias orationes. Mainz: Peter von Friedberg n.d., after 10. July. 22 leaves. *Hain* \*10781.

On fol. 22a, epitaph by Adam Gelthus over Gutenberg, hailing him as inventor of printing:

"In foelicem artis impressorie inventorem

D O M S

Joanni genssfleish artis impressorie repertori deomni natione et lingua optime merito in nominis sui memoriam immortalem Adam Gelthus posuit ossa eius in ecclesia diui Francisci Maguntina foeliciter cubant."

On fol. 22b, an epigram by Jacob Wimpfeling, also in honor of Gutenberg as the first printer.

#### SUMMARY

Of the twenty-seven books described above, seven are the works of annalists who tell what has happened in the world year by year, from the creation of the earth. Three of these mention the invention of printing under the year 1457, one under 1459, while two give the year of the invention as 1440. One, the *Cologne chronicle*, devotes a whole chapter to the story of the invention. So does Polydorus Vergilius in his *Book of inventions*. In the case of three books of general character the editors speak, in introduction or dedication, of the benefits derived from the art of printing books from types. Six books contain verses in honor of the inventor and

his art. One, Fichet's letter to Gaguin of 1472, mentions the invention in course of writing. Nine books, all but one printed in Mainz, by Fust and Schoeffer or by Schoeffer alone, the ninth in Eltville, close by that city, contain the statement about the invention in their colophons.

Twelve statements give Mainz as the place where the invention took place, four do not mention any city, but say that the invention was made in Germany, while two do not give the place at all; the *Cologne chronicle*, while stating that the art was invented in Mainz, says that it was based on certain work done in Holland. It is interesting to note that the first book to contain any mention of the invention, the 1457 *Psalterium*, does not directly mention Mainz as the place, while implying this to be the place by giving the two Mainzians who printed that book as the inventors of the art, and that the second, Balbus' *Catholicoon*, which in all probability was printed by Gutenberg, does not connect the invention with Mainz, merely with Germany; Holland, on the other hand, is not mentioned at all in connection with the art until 1499, when the *Cologne Chronicle* mentions the "Dutch Donatures"; but it gives Mainz as the place of the invention, and Gutenberg as the inventor. Eight other books mention him by name as the inventor, six give Fust, five Schoeffer, as inventor or co-inventor, the majority of these being productions of their own presses; one ascribes the invention to Mentelin, and two to Jenson, one of these being printed by him. Riccobaldus Ferrariensis who says that Mentelin was one of the inventors, connects Strassburg with the invention in another way as well, by making Gutenberg a native of that city.

# THE LITERATURE OF THE GREAT WAR<sup>1</sup>

BY ALBERT HOWE LYBYER

## INTRODUCTION

THE PRESENT war surpasses all previous human armed conflicts in nearly every respect. It is true that the scenes of its important fighting are hardly as widely distributed over the earth's surface as in the great wars of the eighteenth century, nor can its duration, in all probability, be as great as that of several previous wars. But in the number of inhabitants of the belligerent nations and in the number of actual combatants, in the wealth that can be drawn upon and in the actual expenditures upon the war, in the vast hosts of prisoners and of the sick, wounded, and killed, in the millions who are being impoverished, widowed, and orphaned, in the infinity of thrilling experiences and brave deeds, in the multitude of political, economic, and racial questions involved, and in the probable determinative influences upon future times, precedent has already been far transcended by the war which began in 1914.

In proportion to the war itself is the task which confronts its historians and librarians. This is a day when

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<sup>1</sup> A paper read by the author before the Illinois Library Association at Ottawa, Illinois, October 11, 1916.



paper and ink are cheap, and printing-presses fabulously numerous and rapid. The express-train, the ocean liner, and the telegraph carry unheard-of burdens of words. Countless educational institutions turn out increasing multitudes who desire information through ear and eye, and groups almost as numerous of those who can write informational and even readable material. A vast number of the latter are already engaged in heaping up productions upon the war. Those who claim specifically to be historians of the war are even now many, and their tribe will increase. So far as is known, only one man watched the twenty-seven years' course of the Peloponnesian War with a view to telling its story. Already the first instalments are published of at least a score of histories of the present war by contemporary observers, and it does not appear how many other persons are quietly gathering materials and beginning work upon the same vast task. The historical aspect of a great situation has never before been so consciously realized. The world has never contained so many trained and active observers as now. By comparison with the last great general war, which ended a hundred years ago, there are now no doubt at least a hundred times as many potential historians.

The immense subject of the history and literature of the great war may be approached in a brief survey by considering a half-dozen topics: the events, the observers, primary historical material, secondary historical material, extra-historical material, and critical problems.

## THE EVENTS

Events constitute the ultimate basis of history. The present war, directly and indirectly, is providing them in unlimited abundance. The main groups of events connected with the war may be passed in review as political, diplomatic, commercial, military (including naval), and psychological. Each group may be divided chronologically into events before the war, during the war, and after the war; each may be subdivided in other ways according to its nature.

Political events may be classified first as international and national. Many political events of both these varieties led up in the case of each belligerent nation to the decision of going to war. Consider, for instance, such large matters as the growth of Prussian power, the building of the British Empire, the expansion of Russia, the crumbling of the Turkish Empire, the Alsace-Lorraine question (which runs back at least to 843 A.D.), the activities under the theory of the "balance of power," the expansion of European influence and ownership over the world, the growth of nationalism: each of these chains of events leads into the present war; each continues during it; each will probably outlast it. Every internal political question in each nation of the world is modified by the war; as the Ulster question, Prussian electoral reform, socialistic movements, Russian revolutionary tendencies, and even in the United States the tariff question and military preparation. Every department of every government has been affected. No small number

of international political events accompany the war: as the temporary organization of conquered provinces, and the acts of belligerents toward neutrals upon sea and land.

As for diplomatic events, these led toward the war, they were very numerous in connection with its outbreak, and, though interrupted almost entirely as between enemies, they continue abundantly within each belligerent group, and between belligerents and neutrals. The conclusion of peace is likely to furnish as important negotiations as any in antecedent human history. Movements for a revised and respected body of international law, and for a world-organization which will hinder, if not prevent, war, are already begun, and are being advanced strongly by the existence and the incidents of the present conflict.

The commercial events of the world are in all countries affected by the war. Trade-routes have ceased to pass across the common frontiers of belligerent nations. Trade has increased greatly in unaccustomed channels. The Dardanelles have long been closed, the outlet of the Baltic Sea hindered, and the Suez Canal threatened. The ancient way from Belgrade to Constantinople was blocked and again opened. Commercial ships have been destroyed, interned, and commandeered for public service. The railroad systems of great nations are being operated primarily for war. New lines are being hurried through, as on the routes from Constantinople to Bagdad and Egypt, and from Petrograd to Kola on the Arctic



Ocean. Prices are changing in all countries, belligerent and neutral, in most cases having already risen very materially. The production of many articles and commodities has diminished, as of beet sugar in Germany and books in France; that of others has increased, as of grain and munitions of war in the United States. Governments both belligerent and neutral have assumed novel powers over trade, as in commandeering supplies, fixing prices, and controlling the consumption of bread, meat, butter, rubber, gasoline, and the like. Orders in council and constructive or actual blockades have led to an immense amount of interference with trade, by detention of ships and diversion or confiscation of their cargoes. The fear of submarine attack and floating mines, and the scarcity of shipping, have raised the rates of marine insurance and ocean freight everywhere, and cause at times the congestion of land freight near the seaboard of the United States. Balances of trade have shifted, and rates of exchange have fluctuated. Governments have gone into business on a vast scale. They have taxed and borrowed and spent in quantities beyond all precedent and expectation. All together they are raising and spending, it is estimated, some eighty million dollars a day. No part of the world is so distant and no individual so poor, as not to lose or gain, and have the conditions of business life modified, by the great war.

The central events of the war are of course military and naval. How shall the number, the importance, and the complexity of these even be stated? Consider the areas

of fighting: the long lines at the east and west of the Central Powers; the various fields in the Balkan peninsula—Serbia, Montenegro, Greece, Roumania; the four principal areas where the Turks have fought—the Dardanelles, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Suez; the four African regions—Togoland, the Cameroons, German Southwest Africa, German East Africa; the Asiatic regions, Tsingtau, and the Pacific islands; the scenes of naval combat—off Coronel, the Falkland Islands, Malacca, and the Black, North, and Baltic seas; and the wide-flung theaters of submarine and aërial activity. Under all manner of circumstances, in the desert and the forest, in country and town, in snow and heat, in rain and drought, on plain and mountain, men fight and fall. Consider the great phases of the war, on the land, on the sea, and in the air, with their subphases: trench-digging and trench-fighting, marching and encamping, charging and retreating, invading and defending, watching, shooting, mining, scouting, patrolling, shelling, and bombing. Consider the different arms of the service: on land the infantry, cavalry, and commissariat, the medical and intelligence departments and the high command; on the sea the officers, sailors, and marines, the stokers, engineers, and gunners. Consider the great campaigns, movements, and battles, where an individual man is as nothing, and where ten thousand fall in making a small dent in the enemy's lines. In all this, men in millions think and act, toil and struggle, fall sick, receive wounds, die. The number of events is infinite.

There is also a vast background of home activity in support of the military events. It includes the recruiting and the training of literal millions of soldiers, the manufacture of miraculous quantities of munitions (perhaps a million shells are now being made in the world each day), the production of thousands of kinds of articles of equipment, the preparation of millions of pounds of food supplies. A vast organization of men and machinery is necessary to transport men, munitions, and supplies to the places where they are wanted, as from Germany to Bagdad and Beersheba, from England to Salonika and Suez. The transport to long distances by land and sea is, however, less wonderful than the continual ample provision of what is needed for the great lines in the main theaters of war. There is also the care of the wives and children of soldiers, of the widows and orphans of the fallen, and of the hundreds of thousands of wounded. Each belligerent country has been and is one vast hospital with an endless procession of sick and wounded, who arrive from the front, and, after a period of care, return to the front, or pass as cripples or invalids into more or less helpless private life, or are borne prematurely to the grave. The very numerous organizations for charitable and relief work of various kinds perform a multitude of acts. The work of Americans alone, as in the Belgian and Armenian relief, is of immense and increasing extent.

Most numerous of all are the psychological events, which include the experiences and emotions of those affected by the war. These inward and hidden events are



precisely the ones which most concern the historian and the librarian, for they initiate the transition between all the other events and written words. Since not only direct participants in the war, but nearly all other intelligent beings on the face of the earth, encounter an endless series of psychological reactions from the innumerable happenings of these crowded years, the possibilities of producing material are appallingly numerous.

#### THE OBSERVERS

I have endeavored to bring to your minds the infinite number, variety, and importance of the events of the war. Such a survey gives exercise in classification, but the events themselves do not concern you directly as librarians. What you will handle is the written or printed material which describes and discusses the events of the war. But before this can be understood thoroughly, it is necessary to look rapidly at the classes of persons who are in a position to prepare material; that is to say, at the various groups of observers.

A primary distinction among the observers in the great war is that between officials and others. From the latter may perhaps be separated off an intermediate class of semi-officials. Officials in pursuance of their prescribed duties visit and remain in certain places where ordinary citizens may not come, and many of them are expected to observe carefully and record events which others are not permitted even to see. The number of officials of all grades in the present war from first to last will probably

number in the neighborhood of one hundred millions. In the field and afloat in the navies are the officers, soldiers, marines, and sailors; the physicians, stretcher-bearers, ambulance-drivers, and chaplains. The transport service by land and sea, which brings forward in trains, motor cars, and wagons, and in steam and sailing vessels, to exactly the places needed in the vast theaters of war, the soldiers, cannon, shells, food supplies, clothing, repair material, and the like, and takes back the human and other wreckage, demands the activity of hundreds of thousands of men. At home in each belligerent land are those who direct operations of every kind, and who prepare the enormous quantities of supplies for use at the front, and those also who recruit and train the troops. The tendency is to draw in more and more of the population to official, or at least to semi-official, service; for instance, the officers and crews of nearly all the merchant ships of England, and the manufacturers of munitions of war in every land, including even great numbers of women and children.

The unofficial observers in a way include all the rest of the people of the world, as potential producers of material for the librarian and historian to handle. But there are many special groups. There are nurses by the tens of thousands for the hundreds of thousands of wounded. One thing we are spared, in that it has not been permitted since the Spanish-American War that clouds of correspondents should clog the battlefields, with their spy-glasses, cameras, and notebooks, and great facility in the

composition of despatches, whether they have seen anything or not. Nevertheless, a considerable number of war correspondents, including semi-official "eyewitnesses," explorers, travelers, reporters, novelists, and poets, has been allowed to come near the scenes of action, and at times even to visit the front. Prisoners of war by millions are accumulating experiences; while at home, most keenly in the belligerent lands, but with great interest in every neutral land also, all persons of the age of discretion and of sound mind (and some who seem hardly to be so) have learned more or less about the war, and are in a position to produce some written material.

The war is not yet ended, and direct observation has not ceased. But after it is all over, there will be armies of observers who will visit the battlefields and ruins, and talk with participants, and afterward write battalions of books. The process has begun already in areas which the war has covered for a time and then abandoned.

#### THE PRIMARY HISTORICAL MATERIAL

These reflections lead us to consider next the primary or first-hand historical material that is provided by the events of the Great War and that may be utilized by observers who also become writers. I hope that you will pardon me for handling this subject more or less along the lines of historical research. Let me explain that we used the word "trace" to indicate any material and enduring result of an event or action. It is a relieving thought that not all events leave discernible traces, and



that only such as do so can add to our historical and bibliographical burdens. The primary historical material furnished by the war may then be divided into physical traces, psychological traces, and written material.

Physical traces prolong the time of direct observation. Consider first the modifications of the land. It is the case, I believe, that earthworks built by Julius Caesar in his campaigns have been identified after nearly two thousand years. So for many generations it will be possible to see in Europe, left by the present war, forts, military roads and railroads, earthworks and trenches, shell-pits, ruins, and graves. Some months ago a correspondent reported that on the French side alone of the western fighting-line there were, in places behind each mile of front, twenty miles of trenches for approach, retreat, and refuge. Where the line has been long in one location, there have been built continuous underground villages. The process of advance at present involves preparing the way by the use of large shells filled with extremely powerful explosives, and the word "blasting" is used to describe the terrible artillery preparation for a charge. Such a method changes the face of the country, filling small valleys, cutting down hills, and destroying tillable surfaces and the soil itself. The face of the earth will long show the marks of this war.

For generations and even centuries families in their houses, and cities and nations in their museums and public squares and harbors, will preserve relics of the war,

such as weapons, bullets, shells, flags, uniforms, cannon, floating mines, aeroplanes, and even ships, even as in our own country are preserved swords of Bunker Hill, and battle flags and cannon balls, muskets and monitors from the Civil War.

There is also accumulating, in the face of many restrictions and difficulties, no small number of photographs and drawings, and paintings and moving-picture films. We may reflect further that for some fifty or sixty years hundreds of thousands of men will carry about with them personal physical traces of the Great War, in scars; mutilations, and artificial limbs. Of course few of these physical traces of the war, unless it be photographs and other pictures, are likely to be stored in libraries, but what is written about them will demand a place upon the shelves.

Nor can the psychological traces be stored directly in the bookstack. Nevertheless, they also will for some sixty years continue to stimulate writing. Reminiscences of our Civil War have by no means entirely ceased to appear. The psychological traces of the Great War may be summed up, as in all such cases, in the word "memories." The war may cost the lives of five or even ten million soldiers, but forty million will probably survive after taking part in it. What adventures they will be able to relate to their children, grandchildren, and even great-grandchildren! What reams of manuscript, what shelves of books, they will produce! They may forget some details and add others, they may boast and

they may suppress, but in every belligerent land while their lives last they will continue to talk and write from their memories of the Great War.

This brings the discussion to the written primary material—that which is the work of the eyewitnesses, who tell what they see and feel. With this we come finally to what you will have to classify and take care of. As the observers were divided into official and unofficial, so with the direct written material. But the line is not drawn at quite the same place. It is perhaps true with little exception that the official material is written by officials, but it is by no means true that all that is written by those officially connected with the belligerent countries is official material. Many men in responsible positions will one day write their informal reminiscences, while the common soldiers, who perhaps may produce no official reports whatever, will on the whole write a great deal of unofficial material.

The official material is being made in enormous quantities. Judicious selections from it have been published already, but much of it will not be seen for long years. The various governments have given out an unprecedented number of despatches of their diplomats, in their blue and yellow and green and orange and other colored books. Collections have been printed of new laws and ordinances called out by the circumstances of the war. Government departments have issued various publications, as, for instance, small books by the Prussian Ministry of the Interior on economizing food. Reports of army officers



have been published in part, as those of Sir John French on the western front (written, not by him, but by a member of his staff), or of General Hamilton in regard to the operations at the Dardanelles. Yet only the merest fraction of the reports and records made has appeared. Sven Hedin states that even commanders of batteries are required by the Germans to keep careful records.<sup>1</sup> The final tremendous masses of reports will one day furnish material for the books of many historians, who will work out from them reasonably accurate stories of the great battles and campaigns of the war, about which we have now only incomplete, confused, and contradictory accounts.

There is a quantity of material already published that may be called semi-official, as speeches of high personages such as Asquith and Lloyd George, Briand and Poincaré, Bethmann-Hollweg and Helfferich, the collected despatches of the official "eyewitnesses" and authorized correspondents, the bulletins of the press bureaus, and the more official *communiqués* of war offices. Sir Gilbert Parker sends to a list of persons in the United States at frequent intervals official and semi-official material in the shape of books, booklets, pamphlets, and leaflets. The number of these approaches two hundred already. The Germans try to present their side of the case to the English-speaking public in the *Continental*

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<sup>1</sup>Sven Hedin, *With the German Armies in the West* (London, 1915), p. 12.

*Times*, which, however, has not easily passed the British blockade during late months.<sup>1</sup>

Whatever may be true of the quantity of official records kept, the amount of them published so far is much less than that of unofficial material produced by eyewitnesses in many places and positions. The correspondents have been few, but their per capita average of words is high. Diaries and letters of soldiers have been appearing. Sven Hedin is again the authority for the statement that every German soldier is expected to keep a diary, and that in consequence a million and a half are being written on the western front alone.<sup>2</sup> Of course such material, when published at this time, is edited carefully. The selection made from German diaries by Germans for publication in Germany is very different from that made by Frenchmen, when they find such material in the pockets of prisoners or of the slain, for publication in France and allied or neutral lands. Physicians and nurses have produced many books, with descriptions of their experiences, and they will produce more.

At home in the belligerent countries many things happen that are worthy of record. Take, for instance, the

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<sup>1</sup>An interesting comment on the value of such semi-official material is found in a letter of Sir John Fortescue, librarian to the King of England, to the *London Times* (printed in the *Times* weekly edition, October 6, 1916, p. 809), in which an appeal is made for printed regimental records.

<sup>2</sup>Sven Hedin, *loc. cit.*

In the above-mentioned letter of Sir John Fortescue, he speaks of "the unborn historian to whom, long after I am dead and forgotten, will fall the gigantic task of writing, with a nakedness of truth that is necessarily forbidden to me, the full story of the present war."

story of the production of munitions in the different lands, of the manufacture of aeroplanes and motor vehicles, or of the negotiations with neutral countries, as between the United States and Germany over the "Lusitania," or between Sweden and England over the parcel post. The story is also to be told of the efforts of both belligerent groups to win the good opinion and the financial support of the United States and other neutral countries, and to procure ammunition or hinder the sale of supplies to the other side.

The possibilities are limitless, and the material already produced is large. This primary historical material comes in the form of manuscripts, diaries, letters, reports, broadsides, and newspapers (the field newspapers are in themselves an interesting and instructive phenomenon), in general and special periodicals, and in pamphlets and books. Some books are collections of material previously published in less permanent form, as in editorials and newspaper and periodical articles. Others are from the outset written as books.

#### SECONDARY HISTORICAL MATERIAL

The secondary material is that produced by writers who are not eyewitnesses. The line is not always easily to be drawn. All the writers so far are, of course, contemporaries of the events they describe, and they usually introduce some contribution of their own, even if it is nothing more than the results of their prejudice and bias.



There is much daily editorial comment, and many weekly or monthly observations of military experts. There are essays and lectures designed either to convey information, or to urge an argument, or to determine a state of mind. Limited histories have appeared, as the *History of Twelve Days* by one writer, or of *Thirteen Days* by another, these being the days of the outbreak of the war. Accounts have been written of phases of the fighting, as of the Battle of the Marne, or of Von Hindenburg's victories in East Prussia.

General histories have also begun to appear. The library of the University of Illinois has several in each of the languages: English, French, German, and Italian. Some are collections of material from different countries, as the *Current History* of the *New York Times*. Some are written by various authors, and appear in numbered instalments, each of which deals with a special phase of the war, as the *London Times' History of the War*, or Baer's *Weltkrieg*. Some are by a single author, as Buchan's *Nelson's History of the War*, or Hanotaux's French account, or Mantegazza's, in Italian—the latter has a collaborator for the military events. Some are planned to appear in a series of substantial volumes, as the *Diplomatic History* edited by Professor Allen.

Bibliographical lists are not lacking. Of course the periodical guides contain as a part of their regular plan the articles on the war. It has been necessary to classify these more or less elaborately on account of their great number. The usual book catalogues may be consulted.

The lists of new books in the literary supplements of the *London Times* and the *New York Times*, in the *Boston Saturday Transcript* and in the *New York Nation* are helpful. Lange and Berry, in England, began a special bibliography of books on the Great War. They carried it through the first year of the war in three volumes with about 2,000 entries, but have as yet gone no farther. The *Cercle de la Librairie* of Paris has prepared a *Catalogue: Publications de la Guerre, 1914-1915*, which lists French books that have appeared before the present year. Hinrichs has prepared a series of special pamphlets on German war literature. The first three parts of this, covering only ten months of the war, contain between 5,000 and 6,000 titles. These are by no means all books, however, since many pamphlets are included. The Committee on Bibliography of the American Historical Association has thought of initiating a complete bibliography, but they hesitate before the enormous magnitude of the task. Good notes on the historical literature of the Great War, by Professor Dutcher, are to be found in each issue of the *American Historical Review*. A brief selected list of books can be found in the *Statesman's Year Book*.

A number of libraries are making special efforts to collect material on the war, as in France, at Lyons and Paris; in England, at London; and in our own country, at Yale University, the New York Public Library, the Library of Congress, and the universities of Chicago and of Illinois. The last has already several hundred books and pamphlets dealing with the war, including numerous

items in English, French, German, and Italian, and a few in other languages.

#### EXTRA-HISTORICAL MATERIAL

The war literature that is not strictly historical has attained dimensions of considerable size. In fact, in the belligerent lands the minds of the whole population are centered on the war, and all literature shows its influence. This situation has been only less prominent in neutral lands, though of late the prolongation of the war has caused interest in it to begin to subside. A brief study of some of our standard newspapers and periodicals will exhibit the ebb and flow of attention to the war.

Most of the bibliographical lists already mentioned contain some of this non-historical literature. There are poems in great quantity, many short stories, and not a few complete novels. Books of cartoons and caricatures, and humorous writings are many. A fairly long list of plays could be made up. Several books whose main value is artistic have appeared, including some prepared to be sold for charitable purposes connected with the war. As for medical and legal, financial and economic studies, and military treatises, a considerable library of them could be gathered already. Then there are sermons and religious meditations, sociological and philosophical works, and plans for the reconstruction of separate nations and of Europe and the world as a whole after the war. A great deal of material has been prepared especially for soldiers:



prayerbooks and religious sentiments, broadsides with inspiring and encouraging selections, and booklets with the purposes of entertainment and education.

Finally, not a few prophecies may be mentioned, from old-fashioned ones deducing the war from Scripture, and foretelling its duration and results, to much more enlightened but perhaps no more inspired attempts to reason out the decision of the war and the rearrangements that will follow.

#### CRITICAL PROBLEMS

When the historian considers any written or printed material, he habitually raises the question at once whether it is trustworthy. The same question is equally important for the librarian, since he does not wish to fill his shelves with books which will presently be deprived of value on account of the errors or untruths which they contain. Now the war literature yields a surprisingly large number of critical problems. The fact is that the war is not fought only on the field of battle. It is fought in the business affairs of neutral lands, and it is fought in the literature of all the world. Each side declares that the news given out by the other side is not trustworthy, and both sides are more or less right. It is easy to suppress a part of the truth, or to change the emphasis so as to give a distorted impression. It is easy to add doubtful opinions which the hasty reader takes in along with the assured facts. Nor is it impossible to invent false news. For example, despatches from Rome and Athens have been often very unreliable. Much of this false news is

fabricated hundreds of miles from the supposed scene of action. Sometimes we may think we are fortunate in having so much literature of the war while it is still in progress. But so much of the material is tainted and untrustworthy, and, at the best, biased by partisanship and hatred, that we are by no means as fortunate as we seem.

The censors are the regularly appointed agents who bring about the most of the suppression of the truth. There are large groups of these in all the belligerent lands, who pass upon despatches, articles, private letters, and even books. Their direct business is to cut out what they think may help the enemy or discourage friends. Often they are stupid—an English censor canceled a quotation from Kipling, and a German censor one from Goethe. Sometimes they are lazy, and cut out or throw away freely in order to avoid the labor of judging.

But the actual censorship does not destroy as much as the potential censorship. Every writer whose words will go before the censor learns by experience what is not wanted, and so becomes a censor himself. An inestimable amount of information that we should like to have thus fails to be written. John Morse, in his clear and interesting book, *An Englishman in the Russian Ranks*, confesses this when he says:

There has been some suppression of the names of places and localities in this book, and a few other precautions have been taken in its construction. It must be remembered that the war is far from over yet, and that there is an obligation on all writers to be

careful not to deal too freely with facts and incidents of some kinds.<sup>1</sup>

It is to be feared that no small amount of deliberate modification of material is perpetrated. The Germans asserted early, and continue to claim, that there is a campaign of lies against them in the British press. The same accusation has been stated much more mildly by a distinguished American military authority when he said that "fifty years hence, I venture to predict, historians will speak of the British press campaign as the greatest arm of the entente powers in this war, and will place the French army second."<sup>2</sup> On the other side, the Germans have tried also to influence opinion, and the Overseas News Agency has sometimes transmitted despatches of a very suspicious nature.

Miss Jane Addams, after her trip to Europe in the interest of peace, mentions two conclusions:

First, that the people of the different countries could not secure the material upon which they might form a sound judgment of the situation, because the press with the opportunity of determining opinion by selecting data, had assumed the power once exercised by the church when it gave to the people only such knowledge as it deemed best for them to have. Second, that in each country the leading minds were not bent upon a solution nor to the great task that would bring international order out of the present anarchy, because they were absorbed in preconceived

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<sup>1</sup> John Morse, *An Englishman in the Russian Ranks* (London: Duckworth, 1915). From the Preface.

<sup>2</sup> Captain A. L. Conger, *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, September, 1916, p. 166.



judgments, and had become confused through the limitations imposed upon their sources of information.<sup>1</sup>

Thus we are bound to look keenly at all printed material from the belligerent lands, and question whether it bears signs of suppression, addition, or falsification. Examples may be taken even from the most solemn official documents, such as the white, green, and yellow, etc., books of the governments. In the first place, we cannot now know what despatches and documents may have been omitted from these. Nor can we know where despatches have been edited with a purpose, unless the editing has been done carelessly. An instance, not in itself of great importance, may be found in the British White Paper, containing despatches sent shortly before the outbreak of the war, but I will not take your time to explain its somewhat technical details.<sup>2</sup>

The campaign of falsification is not confined to the press of the warring nations, but it extends even to our own. Perhaps most of the difficulty with American-made literature about the war results, however, from prejudice and bias. I have read newspapers which habitually put in their headlines quotation marks when referring to

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<sup>1</sup> Jane Addams, and others, *Women at The Hague* (New York: Macmillan, 1915), p. 92.

<sup>2</sup> The despatch referred to is Enclosure 3 in No. 105, which may be compared with the version in later editions of the White Paper, and with No. 106 of the French Yellow Book. It is discussed in E. C. Stowell, *The Diplomacy of the War of 1914: The Beginnings of the War* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1915), p. 285, note 1, and in E. von Mach, *Official Diplomatic Documents Relating to the Outbreak of the European War* (New York: Macmillan, 1916), p. 324, note 3.

a despatch from one of the sides in the war, announcing its successes, but which use no such practice for the other side. Other newspapers contain biased editorials, while even the so-called "military experts" are often so partisan that they cannot explain a military movement as it is, but must overpraise their friends and vituperate their enemies, and explain away the defeats of their friends and the victories of their enemies. There is too much effort to print, rather than the truth, statements that are calculated to please readers. Of course prejudice and partiality operate very strongly in the belligerent lands as well as in America. It should be said, however, that many Englishmen and many Germans are more truthful and well-balanced in discussing the war than are some of their supporters on this side of the Atlantic. But they are apt to be influenced habitually by expediency. To quote Miss Jane Addams again: "A good patriot of differing opinion finds it almost impossible to reach his fellow-countrymen with that opinion, because he would not for the world print anything that might confuse the popular mind, for war belongs to that state of society in which right or wrong must be absolute."<sup>1</sup>

Histories of the war written now must suffer from the defects in the material that have been described, and especially from the absence of much that will later come to hand. This may be illustrated by a quotation from Stanley Washburn's *Russian Campaign*, as written from Rovna, Russian Poland, in June of 1915:

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<sup>1</sup> Addams, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

It is utterly impossible at this time to give anything like an accurate story of the past two months in Galicia. It will be years before the information necessary for definite history can be accumulated from the various units engaged. Even then there will be gaps and inaccuracies because hundreds of the men engaged have been killed; and so few even of the generals know more than their own side of the case, that the difficulties of the historian will be enormous.<sup>1</sup>

The histories of the future will in all probability suffer even more from an opposite cause, since the quantity of material will be so immense that its utilization will be a matter of great difficulty. It is already almost dishearteningly abundant. In future years only organized groups of scholars can deal with it adequately, and in time they are likely to produce so much in many lands and many tongues that only an organized group of librarians can classify, catalogue, and find in their libraries the innumerable pamphlets, monographs, and larger works which will treat of the Great War.

In all probability none of us will live to see the best and most satisfactory history of the war, which can be prepared only after archives have been opened freely, after patient research has sifted, tested, and organized the facts, and after the passions of the time have subsided so as no longer to obscure clearness of vision. But if we live a normal number of years, we shall see many histories of the war, of which some will be good. This discussion will have served its purpose if it suggests the means of recognizing and testing those writings on the war that are really worth while.

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<sup>1</sup> Stanley Washburn, *The Russian Campaign* (London, 1915), p. 209.



## RECENT GIFTS TO THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY

From ACADEMIA NACIONAL DE ARTES Y LETRAS, HABANA, CUBA  
*Anales*, Tomo I, Num. 1. Enero-Marzo, 1916.

*Castellanos, Jesús*. Los Argonautas. La Manigua sentimental. Cuentos.—Cronicas y apuntes. Tomo II. Habana, 1916.

*Hernández Miyares, Enrique*. Obras completas. II. Prosas. Habana, 1916.

From BUREAU OF RAILWAY ECONOMICS, WASHINGTON, D.C.

*Railway economics*. A collective catalogue of books in fourteen American libraries. Prepared by the Bureau. Chicago, 1912.

*List of references on valuation of steam railways*. Prepared by the Bureau. (Bulletin of the American Railway Engineering Association. Vol. XVIII, No. 196.) Chicago, 1916.

*List of references on valuation of railways*. Prepared by the Bureau. August 1, 1916. Multigraphed.

*List of references on railroad terminals* (in the Library of the Bureau). April 1, 1916. Multigraphed.

*Trial bibliography on the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railway*. November 30, 1915. Multigraphed.

From THE CLUB OF ODD VOLUMES, BOSTON

*Year Book for 1915*. Boston, 1915.

From CORNELL UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

*Islandica*. Vols. VIII and IX. Ithaca, 1915-1916.

From THE GROLIER CLUB, NEW YORK

*First editions of the works of Robert Louis Stevenson*, exhibited at the Club. New York, 1914.

A *Catalogue* of books illustrated by Thomas Rowlandson, exhibited at the Club. New York, 1916.

From the authors

FIGAROLA-CANEDA, D. *Bibliografia de Luz y Cavallero*. Habana, 1916.

LAVAL, R. A. *Bibliografia de bibliografías chilenas*. Santiago de Chile, 1915.

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# The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America

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NOTES ON A FACSIMILE REPRODUCTION  
OF JOSEPH HUNTER'S CHORUS  
*VATUM ANGLICANORUM*<sup>1</sup>

BY W. N. C. CARLTON

The name and work of Rev. Joseph Hunter, the eminent English antiquary who flourished during the first half of the nineteenth century, are well known to most members of this Society, hence the briefest of biographical notes will suffice. He was born in Sheffield, February 6, 1783. In 1809 he became minister of a Presbyterian congregation at Bath and resided there for some twenty-four years. During this period he devoted all his spare time to the study of local history and antiquities, gathering large stores of varied materials, and publishing several volumes recording the results of his researches. Among the latter was his *Who Wrote Cavendish's Life of Wolsey?* (1814) in which he successfully established the fact that George Cavendish, and not his younger brother, Sir William Cavendish, was the real author. In 1833 Hunter was appointed a subcommissioner of the public records and removed to London. On the reconstruction of the record service in 1838 he was appointed an assistant keeper of the first class, and to his care were committed the Queen's Remembrancer records, with the special duty of compiling a calendar of them.

The range and extent of his interests were extraordinary, and a long series of writings emanated from his

<sup>1</sup> Read at the meeting of the Society in Chicago, December 28, 1916.

pen, despite the fact that it was a principle with him to print nothing of any new discovery while any hope remained of finding further illustrations of it. Two of his published works have a very special American interest, viz.: (1) *Collections concerning the Early History of the Founders of New Plymouth, the First Colonists of New England* (1849); (2) *Collections concerning the Church and Congregation of Protestant Separatists Formed at Scrooby in North Nottinghamshire in the Time of James I: the Founders of New Plymouth, the Parent Colony of New England* (1854). These valuable studies on the earliest colonists of New England attracted marked attention among American historians and antiquarians of the day. The works listed under Hunter's name in the *Dictionary of National Biography* represent forty-two volumes of historical, antiquarian, archaeological, literary, and genealogical collections compiled, edited, or written by him, and this list does not include many papers and notes published in journals and proceedings of learned societies. His ceaseless industry in gathering materials, and his constitutional unwillingness to publish until he could work up his subject to the degree of accuracy and perfection at which he aimed, resulted in his leaving at his death in 1861 a vast mass of manuscripts relating to all the subjects which had engrossed his attention. In 1862 the entire collection was purchased by the British Museum and listed as Additional MSS 24436-630, 24864-85, 25459-81, 25676, 25677, 31021. For a half-century it has been a rich quarry in which numerous literary and

historical investigators have found much to reward them and much information not to be found in any other place or form.

Chief among these collections is that which is commonly cited as "Hunter's *Chorus Vatum*." It consists of six bound quarto volumes, each with a title-page and date, bearing the title: *Chorus Vatum Anglicanorum. Collections concerning the Poets and Verse Writers of the English Nation*. By Joseph Hunter, F.S.A.

The dates and extent of the several volumes are as follows: Vol. I, 304 leaves, 1838; Vol. II, 287 leaves, 1843; Vol. III, 338 leaves, 1845; Vol. IV, 331 leaves, 1848; Vol. V, 301 leaves, 1851; Vol. VI, 199 leaves, 1854; a total of 1,760 leaves including brief indexes at the end of each volume. Each leaf measures *ca.* 9¼ by 7¼ inches.

In a brief preface to the first volume Hunter gives the following information regarding the collection:

I began to collect expressly for this book in the year 1820. At first Poets only were the class of Persons whom I meant to treat of, but by degrees Historians, Heralds, Travellers, Antiquaries, Miscellaneous Writers were included. It will be found, however, that they are in a low ratio to the Poets, and still lower are the divisions, Physicians, Lawyers & other persons belonging to the Learned Professions.

Under the name of Poet I include all persons who have verse in print: no matter how small or however worthless.

In point of time the persons I treat of lived from the beginning of Letters as it is considered in England to the close of the 17th century. There are exceedingly few who have lived within the last century and a half.



My plan has been to go when I could to the Original Authorities. Catalogues have yielded much, both those of Eminent Libraries & those published by Booksellers. Much I owe to the Visitation Books—much to other Manuscripts in the British Museum.

I have used the ordinary writers but sparingly—Wood has done the most for me, but it has been rather in the way of reference than by copying from him. . . .

There is scarcely an Article through the whole work in which there is not something that is additional to what is to be found in the printed Literature of England. The obscurity of some of the names is no real blemish of the work. Celebrated names everyone knows about. It is the less [word illegible] men who are most wanted.

There is generally only one entry to the page, and in almost all cases both sides of the leaf are written on, thus making a total of about 3,500 pages in the six volumes. In the opinion of one expert the handwriting is very small and crabbed and in numerous cases illegible. Close and continuous reading of it, however, soon familiarizes one with its peculiarities and many words which at a first reading are very baffling gradually become clear and certain.

As a literary source the manuscript has been perhaps most used by students of English literature. For them its bio-bibliographical data have proved invaluable. In recent years the authors of the articles in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and the *Cambridge History of English Literature* have made large and profitable use of it.

Early in 1914 Mr. Frederic Ives Carpenter, a member of the Board of Trustees of the Newberry Library,

suggested to the Book Committee of the Board that application be made to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to make a facsimile reproduction of the *Chorus Vatum Anglicanorum*, and, if granted, that the Committee authorize a reproduction to be made for the Newberry Library. The Museum authorities very graciously and promptly gave their sanction, and steps were at once taken to decide upon what form of reproduction would be satisfactory for working purposes and yet not prohibitive in price.

The first process considered was that known as "the collotype process," but the estimated cost was obviously beyond the available means of the Library.

In deference to the strongly expressed views of certain persons who were consulted in the matter, experiments were made in making manuscript transcripts of portions of the text. Although the tests were made by one of the most expert transcribers in London, two facts were soon established: (1) that the process would be inordinately slow on account of the character of the handwriting, and (2) that the percentage of errors in the transcription would be unavoidably high.

Final decision was in favor of a full-sized reproduction by means of the "rotary bromide process," and work was begun in December, 1915, under the direction of Messrs. B. F. Stevens and Brown.

The plan for binding the 3,500 leaves was drawn up and is being carried out by Robert Rivi re & Son. The reproduction will be in twelve quarto volumes; all leaves,

both recto and verso, are arranged to face up. Each leaf is guarded and also squared separately at top and back, as the reproductions are not always in the center of the leaf, and in many cases it was not possible to remove all the margins. The binding is one-half dark-red levant, gilt edge, plain finish.

At this date seven of the twelve volumes have been received, carrying the reproduction to the middle of Vol. IV of the original text.

There will, then, soon be available here in Chicago a complete facsimile reproduction of a manuscript collection of prime importance to all scholars whose studies are in any way concerned with the history of English Literature in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There is not the slightest prospect that the original text will ever be printed, either as a commercial undertaking or as the publication of a printing club or learned society, even though its value as a source is recognized fully by English scholars throughout the world. For these and other reasons easily understandable, the Trustees of the Newberry Library felt justified in having the reproduction made and adding by so much to the growing strength of the Library in original sources for the study and investigation of English literature prior to 1800. They hope that its presence may be of lasting service to English scholarship throughout the region of which Chicago is the geographical center.



## THE LIST OF INCUNABULA IN AMERICAN LIBRARIES AND ITS RELATION TO THE INTERNATIONAL CATALOGUE OF THE PRUSSIAN COMMISSION<sup>1</sup>

BY AKSEL G. S. JOSEPHSON

In the report which the Publication Committee presented at the last annual meeting (printed in the July number of the *Papers*), the recommendation was made that the list of incunabula in American libraries should not be printed until the international catalogue of incunabula which is being prepared by a Commission appointed by the Prussian government has been issued, the American union list to be merely a check list, referring for all details to the international catalogue. It was also recommended that a brief list of undescribed incunabula in the American list be prepared and sent to the Commission, the titles of books for which the Commission does not have any descriptions to be returned to the Society, so that descriptions may be prepared from the copies in this country. In this way we would co-operate with the International Commission in securing descriptions of all hitherto undescribed incunabula represented in American libraries.

These recommendations caused Dr. Konrad Haebler, the chairman of the Commission, to express his regrets in a letter to your Editor, inasmuch as the international catalogue in this way would be necessarily incomplete,

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<sup>1</sup> Read at the meeting of the Society in Chicago, December 28, 1916.

because it would not contain the holdings of American libraries. The recommendation that information about undescribed incunabula be sent to Berlin is, however, commented on with satisfaction; Dr. Haebler states that this assistance would be of the greatest value to the Commission, and thanks the Society for the proffered help in this respect. "It is well known," he says, "that during the last fifty years not a few typographical unica have been acquired by American collectors and libraries"; and he continues:

I hope, furthermore, that such an exchange of information might be of some small advantage to the owners of these books, as the Commission probably would be able to give additional information about many of them and assist in the determination of their typographical origin. Only recently I have, through photographs furnished by the Hispanic Society of America, been able to determine that that Society possesses a document printed by a Spanish printer of whom hitherto very little has been known, namely Johann Gherlinc, probably in Orense, a place that has not been known as the possessor of an early printing-press. The results of such investigations will certainly contribute to bring out the importance of the treasures owned in America, to the great satisfaction of their owners.

Now, what shall we do with the American union list? I am not so sure that I was right in adopting the suggestion that we wait. It does not seem quite fair to the spirit of international co-operation, which in these days needs to be fostered rather than hampered and which, it seems to me, we in this country should do all we can to foster and promote.

However, the time for printing the list is as yet quite far off. The important thing for us now is to see whether we can obtain the means to revise and edit the list, and to complete it. Many libraries have added considerably to their stock of these books, some important private collections have been dispersed, and new collectors have appeared on the scene. Then, the individual entries sent in by the libraries and private collectors are very uneven with regard to the information they give, and later researches have altered the views as to the origin of some anonymous imprints. We must, then, make up our minds as to what information we wish to give. Here is an interesting point: It happens often that these books contain other works besides the one given first in the book, under which, therefore, it is usually entered. These additions are most often commentaries to the work in question, but sometimes they are other works by the same author as the first, and in other cases the book is a collection of works on the same subject by a number of authors, some of which may, and others may not, be found as independent publications. Information about these works would be of great importance in a union catalogue which is intended to tell the inquirer whether and where a certain work may be consulted in this country. There are other data as well that we want to obtain from the union list without having recourse to such works of reference as the various detailed catalogues of incunabula, or even to the comprehensive general catalogue, when once this important work is ready and published.



It might be well to consider the items that should be given.

First, there is the author. We want to know his name, both the name which is given in the book and the name by which he is known in literature, and the latter should be the one under which to enter his works, so that all of them may come together in the same place. Then there is what we are accustomed to call his "real name"; that is, the form in which his name was or would be recorded in national official documents. This name we do not always know. When we do know it, if it does not agree with the form selected for entry, it should be recorded. Then we want to know the dates of his birth and death, or at least the century when he flourished, and something about the man and his occupation. Next comes the title of the book. Often the title by which an ancient or mediaeval work has become known to us is not the same as the one by which it is published in these early books; sometimes the same work is called by different names in different editions. A standard form, therefore, should be used as entry, but the other title or titles should be mentioned, so that they may be referred from, as often these titles are of a kind that are remembered even better than the name of the author. In addition, the entry should contain the titles of such other works as may be contained in the book, either in connection with the title itself, or, if the number of these works is large, in a note.

Then comes the imprint: place, printer, publisher when different from the printer, and date, not only the

year but the day and month; this is important, because occasionally two editions of the same book were printed by the same printer in the same year, and also because it will serve in arranging the different works in their proper order in the list of the works of the same printer; for a list of printers should be included as one division of the published catalogue.

Next comes the information about the number of volumes, the format, and whether the book is illustrated or not.

Further, there should be references to the bibliographical catalogues that contain detailed description of the book or of the type used in it. This list of references should in all cases include Hain, if recorded there, even when he has not seen the book; but if the star, indicating that he has seen it, is found, it should never be omitted. The Proctor number should come next, as it is a guide to his description of the type, and to Haebler's analysis. Then other works where descriptions are to be found. It would be worth while to underline, for printing in italics, the reference to the work that contains the fullest and most accurate description.

Finally, notes about the individual copies might be given, especially as to variations in completeness, and manuscript notes.

Now, as to the procedure in getting all this information. Much of it may be found in available reference books and bibliographies. Other items cannot be found except by a personal examination of the books themselves. The

first thing to be done, therefore, would be to make new entries of the books, on larger cards, from the titles now on hand and from other sources. This record should be made in several copies, one to remain in the hands of the editor, the others to be sent, after the whole of the preliminary work has been done, to the libraries possessing copies, with the request for information about such items as must be taken from the books themselves, and similar full information should be asked about incunabula received since the library in question reported to the Free Library of Philadelphia. After these data have been received the various items not on the original cards should be entered there and on one of the duplicate slips, the latter to be sent to the Berlin Commission. Not until all this work has been done does the question of printing need to come up. But the problem of ways and means of paying the cost of editorial and revisional work must be solved; it is not probable that a competent editor will be found willing and able to *give* his time to this work. One way would be if a library would care to detail one of its staff to this work while being kept on the pay-roll of that library. But this is not very likely to happen. A sufficient salary, therefore, must be found, and preferably for two persons—one bibliographer and one clerical assistant. Would it be possible to secure the necessary sum through the co-operation of libraries possessing incunabula? They would naturally expect copies of the completed catalogue in return; but would they be willing to pay for both the editorial work and the manu-

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facture of the book? Perhaps a number of learned societies might be willing to join in sharing the expenses with the libraries, thereby reducing the amount to be paid by each. It is impossible, without a very careful examination of the material in hand, to say how much money would be needed for the editorial work. I am inclined to think that the sum would be somewhere between \$3,000 and \$5,000.

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Dr. Haebler accompanied his above-mentioned letter with a statement of the present status of the work of the Prussian Commission, translated as follows:

The work on the General Catalogue of Incunabula has continued nearly uninterrupted during the war. The Commission has, of course, lost some of its younger collaborators who have been called to arms, and these have not yet been replaced. The secretarial force of the central office has also been reduced, in order not to overburden the older members of the Commission with work of revision. In spite of this the past two years<sup>1</sup> of the war have shown an output only 20-25 per cent smaller than that of the most successful years in time of peace. Altogether more than 20,000 single descriptions of incunabula have been prepared at the central office, and it may be presumed that much more than half, if not two-thirds of the descriptions to be made have actually been prepared. The international connections of the Commission have, naturally, suffered much more. That the British Museum has discontinued the work on its incunabula catalogue was of minor importance, as the inventory of the incunabula in English libraries had been taken by a member of the Commission before the war broke out. More regrettable and of greater influence on the

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<sup>1</sup> This was received in the summer of 1916.

international work is that the French general catalogue of M. Polain seems to have been discontinued entirely. It looks therefore, unfortunately, as if this important undertaking will share the fate of the "*Histoire générale de l'imprimerie*" by M. A. Claudin, and remain a torso. Most painful for the Commission, on account of the importance of Italy for early printing, is the circumstance that the partaking of Italy in the international work, which was arranged for immediately previous to the outbreak of the war, now seems very doubtful. Urgings from German quarters even after the close of the war will probably be without results. Here is an excellent opportunity for American institutions, societies, and bibliophiles, interested in international endeavors. In Belgium the connections of the Commission with Professor de Vreese have been temporarily interrupted. In Holland, on the other hand, the listing of the individual incunabula collections is still going on; Switzerland will, with the aid of the German Commission, take up the work of inventory, and in Austria the work of inventorying the incunabula in the libraries in the various crown lands and provinces has kept on uninterruptedly in spite of the war.

If a definite time for the beginning of the work of printing the catalogue cannot be given at present, the reason lies chiefly in the international situation. The material which the Commission has collected in Germany will be ready for printing in three or four years. But so far the Commission stands by the original plan to build up the catalogue on an international basis. At all events no new decisions as to the ultimate fate of the catalogue should be made until after the return of peaceful conditions and the reorganization of political relations.

## HORTUS SANITATIS

BY J. CHRISTIAN BAY

In 1484 Peter Schöffer, in Mainz, published a book on popular medicine entitled *Herbarius*. This was the first of the large class of books called "herbals," which contained illustrations of animals and plants by means of woodcuts. Previously woodcuts had been used mainly to multiply pictures of landscapes and designs on maps and playing cards. The new departure speedily was exploited farther by Schöffer in a larger and more pretentious work, published in 1485 under the felicitous title *Ortus* [Hortus] *Sanitatis*, or *Garten der Gesundheit*.

The main text of this German book is divided into 435 chapters, each containing an account of some plant or animal useful in medicine, to which are added a number of indexes.

In 1491 Jacob Meydenbach, another printer in Mainz, issued an *Ortus Sanitatis* in Latin, the text divided into 1,066 chapters, followed by indexes.

The publication of these two works is proved by copies still in existence, so it is possible to describe and compare them. But the moment we go beyond this domain of easily authenticated facts, the two books—together with their bibliographical progeny—present one of the most puzzling problems in the history of book-making.

The problem may be explained thus: While both books confess themselves compilations, no name of a



compiler has been definitely transmitted. Some bibliographers regard the German, others the Latin edition, as the original. Some maintain that both books have been compiled on the basis of manuscript herbals older than either of them. Others, again, have affixed the name of Johannes Cuba, a medical man who flourished in Frankfurt at the end of the fifteenth century and is known to have translated the Latin *Hortus* into German, as the originator of both compilations. Another complication arises from the fact that between 1485 and 1547 no less than thirty-eight editions of the German as well as the Latin book appeared, including translations into various foreign languages. Some copies seem to have been originally issued with hand-illuminated woodcuts.

The German *Hortus* contains large illustrations, far superior in workmanship and detail to those of larger and later Latin works. Of the German work, thirteen editions were published between 1485 and 1499. Of the Latin work, twenty-one editions were published in Latin, eight in German, eight in Low German and Flemish, and two in French, between 1491 and 1547.

It will be understood that the reissuing of the German work and the translation into German of the Latin work give rise to new difficulties not discounted by the fact that many of the editions were extended by the insertion of new matter from the herbals published by other authors as time went by.

Choulant, Ernst Meyer, and Pritzel are the critics who have expended the most painstaking labor on the question

of the origin and authorship of the *Hortus Sanitatis*. Each of these three masters holds his own opinion. Each conducted his researches in Germany where copies of all editions are inspected with comparative ease.

All three agree that the *Hortus* is a compilation—the inheritance of animal and vegetable *materia medica* of the Middle Ages with all the superstition and the hermetic scholasticism in full force.

Choulant regards the German work as the original.

Meyer considers the Latin work the original, although it was published seven years later than the German, and surmises that the manuscript compilation from which both works were derived dates about fifty years before the publication.

Choulant and Meyer both are aware that a Frankfurt physician, Johannes Cuba, was commonly considered the compiler of both works, although his name does not occur in print in any edition until 1514, and his connection with the work cannot be definitely established.

Such is the problem confronting us today, letting alone the learned bibliographical apparatus constructed around the silent books.

The solution of this problem must come *from the books themselves*. They no longer must be allowed to remain silent if the study of the *Hortus Sanitatis* shall continue with any promise of success.

The first thing to be undertaken must be a tabulation of the *contents* of all important editions. This tabulation must be extended to the other herbals of the same period.

In other words, the *Hortus Sanitatis* must be *read* and its contents historically defined.

The contents must be viewed both in the light and without the light of the famous preface which introduces the medium of an oriental traveler and collector of medical curiosities, together with an equally fabulous artist, as the originator of the facts recorded. This oriental atmosphere certainly does surround the book, and even a sporadic reading will fail to confirm the impression of the *Hortus* as a monument to a typical Germanic form of culture. Meyer regards the unknown original compilation as a work in Latin and considers Johannes Cuba the original translator. But he also indicates a possible original.

The Royal Library in Berlin preserves a manuscript which contains a large number of observations on *materia medicae* derived from an unnamed source, but containing a large number of good drawings of animals and plants. At the end of the text the manuscript bears this inscription: "And to avoid prolixity here is the end of this book, which contains the remedies ('Secrets') of Salernum."

Meyer does not appear to have compared the manuscript with either the first German or the first Latin edition of the *Hortus*. When this is done, we may know whether the *Hortus* is a German recasting of the Salernitan wisdom. Here as in other cases of bibliographical riddles the solution may be less troublesome than it seems, after the silence of the books has been broken.



## FIFTEENTH-CENTURY EDITIONS OF *FASCICULUS TEMPORUM* IN AMERICAN LIBRARIES

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY  
AKSEL G. S. JOSEPHSON

Werner Rolevinck, the author of the *Fasciculus temporum*, was born in 1425, in Laer, Westphalia, the son of a well-to-do farmer. In 1447, after he had finished his school and university studies, he entered the Carthusian Monastery of S:ta. Barbara, in Köln, and here he died in 1502. Of his life little is known, but he seems to have been an influential member of his order and took an active part in its synods and conferences. Among his friends was the learned abbot Trithemius, and he was evidently acquainted with many of the leading men of his time.

Rolevinck was a diligent author of theological and historical works; the former still remain for the most part in manuscript. The most authoritative of his historical works is his description of manners and customs in his native land which he published under the title *De laude veteris Saxoniae nunc Westphaliae dictae*, but the work by which he is best known is the universal history which he compiled and which is the subject of this note. The *Fasciculus temporum* is not the result of original research; it is a mere compilation from various sources, but it

acquired soon an unusual popularity; nearly forty editions of it were printed during the author's lifetime, and it continued to be printed over and over again during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the last edition being of as recent date as 1726. This popularity was due, not only to the craving among the general public for popular historical reading, but also to the numerous illustrations with which it was adorned. Dr. Leo Baer, of Frankfurt a. M., has given an interesting analysis and classification of the various editions, based on the illustrations, in his work *Die illustrierten Historienbücher des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts*. He finds that a study of the woodcuts of the various editions of the book offers a consecutive view of the art of woodcutting during the latter part of the fifteenth century. He points out that because the general type remains the same through all of them, it is possible to trace what is individual in the work of each artist.

For students of the history of printing the *Fasciculus* has a special interest because its author is one of the contemporary chroniclers who mention the invention of the new art. The reference to printing occurs under the date 1457, and in three different forms<sup>1</sup> in the various editions, which therefore might be classified by these various types of the statement. The first form of it, the one that occurs in the two editions of 1474, runs as follows: "Artificies mira celeritate subtiliores solito

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Mr. Charles Martel for calling my attention to the three forms of this statement.

fiunt. Et impressores librorum multiplicantur in terra.<sup>1</sup>" Already the 1476 edition, however, adds to this the words "ortum sue artis habentes in Moguntia."<sup>2</sup> The third Köln edition, of 1478, varies the statement and elaborates on the importance of the invention in the following manner: "Librorum impressionis scientia subtilissima omnibus sæculis in audita circa hec tempora reperitur in urbe maguntina. Hec est ars artium, scientia scientiarum, per cuius celeritatis exercitationem thesaurus desiderabilis sapientie et scientie quem omnes homines per instinctum nature desiderat. Qui de profundis latibularum tenebris persiliens. Mundum hunc in maligno positum dictat pariter ac illuminat."<sup>3</sup> One or the other of these types occurs in every edition of the book, and a classification of the editions might be attempted on this basis. As far as the form of the reference has been ascertained, the following list contains notes on the three types.

The list itself gives all the editions recorded in bibliographical literature, including one or two of which no copy is known and which may be spurious. The references to American libraries and collectors owning copies are from the List of incunabula in American libraries.

1474. Köln: Nicolaus Götz. Hain 6917. *Type a.*  
J. P. Morgan's Library.

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<sup>1</sup> Type A, with reference in index under *Artifices librorum impressores*.

<sup>2</sup> Type B, with reference in index under *Artifices librorum impressores*.

<sup>3</sup> Type C, with reference in index under *Librorum impressores*.



1474. Köln: Arnold ter Hoernen. Hain \*6918. *Type a.*  
Annmary Brown Memorial; Library of Congress  
(Thatcher collection).
1476. Köln: Conradus Winters. Hain \*6919. *Type b.*  
L.C. (Thatcher); Newberry Library; John Crerar Library.
1476. Louvain: Jan Veldener. Hain \*6920. *Type a.*
1477. Köln: Arnold ter Hoernen. Brit. Mus. Cat. p. 204.
1477. Speyer: Petrus Drach. Hain \*6921. *Type a.*  
AMBMem.
1478. Köln: Nicolaus Götz. Hain \*6922. *Type b.*  
AMBMem.; L.C. (Thatcher).
1479. Köln: Heinrich Quentell. Hain \*6923.
1479. Venezia: Georg Walch. Hain \*6924. *Type a.*  
AMBMem.; J.P.M.; L.C.; L.C. (Thatcher).
1480. Köln: Heinrich Quentell. 71 p. Hain \*6925. *Type b.*  
AMBMem.; H. Walters, Baltimore.
1480. Köln: ? 74 p.
1480. Utrecht: Jan Veldener. Hain 6946. Dutch translation.  
*Type a.*  
AMBMem.; L.C. (Thatcher); J.P.M.
1480. Venezia: Erhard Ratdolt. Hain \*6926. *Type a.*  
AMBMem.; J. C. Williams, Morristown, N.J.; J. H.  
Scheide, Titusville, Pa.
1480. Valencia: Barth. Segura & Alph. de Portu. Hain 6927.  
AMBMem.
1481. Köln: Heinrich Quentell. Hain \*6929. *Type b.*  
AMBMem.; New York Public Library.
1481. Basel: Bernhard Richel. Hain \*6939. German translation.
1481. Rougemont: Heinrich Wirzburg. Hain 6930. *Type c.*  
AMBMem.; L.C.
1481. Venezia: Erhard Ratdolt. Hain \*6928. *Type a.*  
AMBMem.; L.C. (Thatcher); J.P.M.; Walters; Newberry Library.

1482. Memmingen: Albert Kunne. Hain \*6931. *Type a.*  
AMBMem.; L.C. (Thatcher).
1482. Basel: Bernhard Richel. Hain \*6932.  
AMBMem.
1483. Lyon: ? Hain \*6941. French translation.
1483. Venezia: Erhard Ratdolt. Hain 6933. Spurious? Red-  
grave 39.
1484. Venezia: Erhard Ratdolt. Hain \*6934. *Type a.*  
AMBMem.; L.C. (Thatcher); J.P.M.
1485. Venezia: Erhard Ratdolt. Hain \*6935. *Type a.*  
AMBMem.; L.C.
1486. Aquileia: Adam de Rotvil? Alemanus.  
AMBMem.
1487. Strassburg: Joh. Prüss. Hain \*6936. *Type c.*  
AMBMem.; Boston Athenaeum; Princeton Univ.  
Library.
1488. Strassburg: Joh. Prüss. Hain \*6937. *Type c.*  
AMBMem.; L.C.; L.C. (Thatcher); Princeton.
- 1490? Strassburg: Joh. Prüss. Hain 6916. *Type c.*  
AMBMem.; L.C.; J.C.L.
- 1490? Köln: Ludovicus de Renchen? Hain \*6914.  
AMBMem.
- 1490? Strassburg: Joh. Prüss. Not before 1490. Hain \*6915.  
*Type c.*  
AMBMem.; N.Y.P.L.
1490. Lyon: ? Hain 6942. French translation.
- 1492? Strassburg: Joh. Prüss. After 26 October 1492.  
AMBMem.
- 1492? ? Hain 6938. Panzer VI: 56, \*469.
- 1495? Lyon: Mathias Hus. Cop. 2437.  
AMBMem.
1495. Genève: Loys M. Cruse. Hain 6944. French translation.
1495. Genève: Jean Bellot? Hain 6943.
1498. Lyon: Mathias Hus. Hain 6945.  
? ? Versailles (Pellechet) 168.

MINUTES OF THE TWENTY-FOURTH SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA, HELD AT THE LA SALLE HOTEL, IN CHICAGO, ON DECEMBER 28, 1916.

The meeting was called to order by the President, Mr. George Watson Cole. In the absence of the Secretary, Mr. Josephson acted in that capacity.

The following papers were read by the authors: "Notes on a Photographic Reproduction of Joseph Hunter's *Chorus Vatum Anglicanorum*," by W. N. C. Carlton, and "The List of Incunabula in American Libraries and Its Relation to the International Catalogue of the Prussian Commission," by Aksel G. S. Josephson, accompanied by a statement about the present status of the work on the international catalogue, by Dr. Konrad Haebler, chairman of the Prussian Commission, and with two appendixes: "Hortus sanitatis," by J. Christian Bay, and "The Fasciculus temporum and Its Author," by A. G. S. Josephson.

Mr. Carlton exhibited several volumes of the photographic reproduction of the *Chorus vatum*. They were examined with great interest by those present, and Mr. Carlton was asked whether it would be possible for other libraries to have the volumes further reproduced. Mr. Carlton answered that this probably could be arranged. The following resolution was then introduced by Dr. E. C. Richardson, and adopted: "*Resolved*, That the Bibliographical Society of America express to the Trustees of the Newberry Library its appreciation of their enterprise in securing for American use a copy of Joseph Hunter's *Chorus Vatum Anglicanorum*, and venture to express the hope that they may be able to extend the usefulness of the copy still further through some method of reproduction."



Mr. C. W. Andrews reported briefly on the catalogue of the John Crerar Library's collection of Orientalia which is being prepared by Dr. Berthold Laufer.

A discussion followed as to what should be done about preparing for publication the list of incunabula in American libraries. Mr. Carlton said that in his opinion the American list should not be printed until the last words on the subject were available in the catalogues of the British Museum and of the Prussian Commission. He was also of the opinion that it would hardly be worth while to try to get funds for the necessary editorial work, so long as there was no available editor in sight. In this view other members present concurred.

The President then stated that there were several matters of importance that ought to have been discussed by the Council; but as there was no quorum of the Council, he would entertain a motion that these matters be taken up by the Society. Such a motion being made and carried, the President said that the most important matter to be taken up was the question of Professor C. S. Northup's *Bibliography of English Philology*, which had been undertaken at the suggestion of the Society,<sup>1</sup> and which had been submitted to the Society for publication. It had been found, however, that it would be very difficult for the Society to handle the undertaking, seeing that only some sixty subscriptions had been received as the result of the Society's publicity campaign. Mr. C. B. Roden, chairman of the Publication Committee, reported for the Treasurer that, after having spent \$82.78 on publicity work for Professor Northup's bibliography, the publication fund of the Society had been reduced to \$167.22. The cost of printing Professor Northup's bibliography had been estimated at between \$1,200 and \$1,300. Mr. Andrew Keogh said that he thought it

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<sup>1</sup> It might be stated that the Society had suggested a critical, selected bibliography of standard bibliographies of the subject, omitting the superseded and ephemeral, but the work, as presented by Mr. Northup, was a very comprehensive list, with little or no critical apparatus.—EDITOR'S NOTE.

probable that either the Yale University Press or the American Academy would be willing to publish Professor Northrup's bibliography. On motion of Mr. Carlton and after some further discussion it was voted that the Society decline to publish the work, that the Secretary notify the author of this, and that the subscriptions received by the Society, or still to be received, be turned over to the author or to such publishing agency as he might designate.

At the request of the Editor it was voted that the President appoint a Finance Committee, whose function shall be to prepare a budget for each ensuing year, the chairman to approve all bills before they are paid. The President appointed Messrs. W. C. Lane, W. N. C. Carlton, and Carl B. Roden.

The President then said that two efforts had been made to have the *Papers* of the Society given second-class mail privileges, but had failed. It was voted that the President appoint a committee to look into the matter and make a new effort. The President appointed Messrs. Herbert Putnam and George F. Bowerman.

The acting Secretary then read a letter from the librarian of the University of Missouri, offering, under certain conditions, to house the library of the Society. The offer was, however, declined for the present. In this connection the Editor had suggested that a number of copies of the publications of the Society be set aside to be used for exchanges; no action, however, was taken in this matter.

It was voted that the membership list of the Society be kept in type and reprinted every two years.

The President appointed the following Nominating Committee: Messrs. W. N. C. Carlton, Andrew Keogh, and Herbert Putnam.

## NOTES

The census of copies of books printed in the fifteenth century owned in the United States and Canada, which was begun under the direction of Mr. John Thomson, of Philadelphia, some twenty years ago, and has latterly been in the charge of the Bibliographical Society of America, will be printed by the New York Public Library during the present year, if the material is made ready for the printers.

The expenses connected with the editorial work will be met through subscriptions, to a fund of \$3000.00, of \$300.00 each, which subscriptions will carry with them life memberships and receipts of complete back sets of the publications of the Society. Four such subscriptions have been received, from Mr. George Watson Cole, Dr. Charles L. Nichols, Mr. Henry E. Huntington, and Mr. Archer M. Huntington.

The committee of the Bibliographical Society which has undertaken to edit this material consists of George Watson Cole, Charles L. Nichols, Victor H. Paltsits, and George P. Winship. Under their direction the information on the cards, listing some 10,000 titles, is being typewritten on sheets in uniform entries. There are, it is estimated, one thousand fifteenth-century books hidden in American bookcases, either in the hands of private owners or in the smaller public and institutional libraries. It is the earnest desire of the committee to learn the whereabouts of as many as possible of these hidden books and they will appreciate exceedingly any assistance which our members can give. Will any member of the Society who possesses or knows the whereabouts of any piece of incunabula be so good as to communicate that fact to Mr. George P. Winship, Widener Library, Harvard University?

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At a recent meeting of the American Society of Agricultural Engineers Dr. H. E. Horton, agricultural commissioner for the American Steel and Wire Company, presented a paper on "Agricultural Engineering Bibliography." He divides the field into three branches: cultural (which he says is best covered by the German expression *Kulturgeschichte*), statistical, and economic. The economic includes the engineering side. In attempting to show the field covered by agricultural engineering he gives the classifications of the subject used by the Office of Experiment Stations, that given by Vogler in his *Grundlehren der Kulturtechnik*, and that of the Library of Congress. He laments the fact that the Dewey classification has not been adapted to the subject. As a result of this meeting I believe a request was sent to the A.L.A. Committee on the Decimal Classification to consider the matter.

Dr. Horton lists the sources of material under ten divisions, among which are periodicals, publications of societies and testing laboratories, catalogues of machinery and implement manufacturers, patent specifications, and court records of lawsuits involving the patenting of implements and machines.

He lists twelve American periodicals on the manufacture of farm implements. As early as 1867 a testing laboratory was instituted by the Landwirtschaftliches Institut of the University of Halle. The idea of testing laboratories spread until there were thirteen laboratories testing machines and implements of all kinds and nine laboratories testing machines and implements used in dairying.

In 1906 was founded Der Verband landwirtschaftlicher Maschinenprüfungsanstalten, which issues *Mitteilungen*.

The publications of the Deutsche Landwirtschafts-Gesellschaft are a fruitful source of material for the agricultural engineer.

The publications of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, including the Experiment Station Record, are discussed.

In order to show the amount of material available Dr. Horton presented a bibliography on cards of about 1,000 entries, practically all being available in the John Crerar Library. The bibliography will be printed by the Society.

E. D. T.

Wanted, to complete sets of the publications of the Society:

*Year-Book of the Bibliographical Society of Chicago,*  
1899-1900.

*Bulletin of the Bibliographical Society of America,*  
Vol. I, No. 2, October, 1907.

Members who have these or other odd numbers that they are willing to turn over to the Society are asked to communicate with the Editor, care of The John Crerar Library, Chicago.





# The Papers of the 73 Bibliographical Society of America

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## INCUNABULA LISTS

### I. HERBALS

BY ARNOLD C. KLEBS, M.D.

SO MANY incunabula have found their way across the Atlantic into our libraries that the European bibliographer has begun to come to us for missing links in his collections. Every book-lover therefore welcomes the wise decision for the general stock-taking of our incunabula in a Union List, and no doubt this will be equally valued by the student of literature. Everyone interested and in contact with incunabula should try to help in the undertaking in whatever special line he may be working, but mainly by calling attention to copies, many of which may still be hidden away, unsuspected and unrecognized. I propose to do my share by submitting lists of certain incunabula editions which have engaged my attention, selecting particularly those for which the concordance of bibliographic references has not yet been established, as in Peddie's handy *Conspectus*, or only inadequately for present needs, as in Burger's *Concordanz*. This deference to practical bibliographic needs may atone for the somewhat arbitrary choice of a certain class of books, the subjects of which I believe to be well worth a closer study.

Some books inspire awe, others a familiarity which not infrequently breeds contempt. The former seem to hold forever an immaculate integrity, while the latter,



bethumbed, besmeared, and torn, soon become unsightly relics. Books with these signs of hard usage form a profitable subject for study. They reveal, perhaps not dominant currents of mind, but valuable undercurrents. Size of edition alone does not tell the whole story, as its increase or decrease often is caused by passing book-fashions of the day. It does not form a true index of what literature is becoming, so to say, flesh and bone of a generation, stimulating the few to a deeper study, the many to a point of view, to action and possible achievement.

We are apt to forget that some of the precious incunabula upon which we bestow infinite and reverent care are but the rare survivals from a perilous career in the days of their prime. Tossed about by the eternally destructive schoolboy, facing rain or shine strapped to the surveyor's kit, consulted on the battlefield by the surgeon, in woods and hills by the herbalist, or in the smoky laboratory of the apothecary or alchemist, they were part and parcel of active humanity and suffered accordingly. What of them has come to us is often in a sad condition, most trying to the conscientious bibliographer or librarian who wishes to indentify the issues. From this type of book I propose to make my lists and I shall begin with the herbals, which under various names have been a constant source of confusion and bewilderment.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The difficult task of comparing and identifying copies in libraries sometimes more than a thousand miles apart would have been impossible without the courteous help of those in charge of the books. My warm thanks for such

## MACER FLORIDUS

An enumeration of herbs and their healing powers in Latin hexameters. Whether its authorship can be traced to Aemilius Macer, whose herb-lore is mentioned by Ovid (*Tristia* iv. 10), or whether it is the product of Salernitan enterprise, its immense popularity from at least the tenth century on almost to our own times is attested by numerous reproductions in manuscript and print. While we know that manuscripts, both in Latin and in translations, reached practically every European country, the extant editions, all Latin, originated in Italy and France.

1. *Non-illustrated editions*.—Only two very rare ones exist, from Italian presses, both dated and signed, neither one of which appears to be represented in our libraries. They are: Napoli: Arnold of Brussels, 9 May, 1477. Fol. HC\*10420; Milano: Antonius Zarotus, 19 Nov., 1482. 4°. *Reichl. V. 179: H. 10421*.

2. *Illustrated editions*.—All undated and unsigned, but evidently from French presses at the close of the fifteenth century. Eight different editions or variants can so far be distinguished. Those described here have a family

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valuable assistance are due particularly to Mr. Charles Perry Fisher of the College of Physicians in Philadelphia, to Mr. George Parker Winship, to Dr. George T. Moore of the Missouri Botanical Garden in St. Louis, to Misses Greene and Thurston of the Morgan Library in New York, to our ever-obliging editor, Mr. Josephson, and to all those who with great liberality have allowed me access to incunabula collections, especially to Colonel McCulloch of the Surgeon General's Library and to Dr. Putnam of the Library of Congress in Washington.

resemblance, being all small quartos with leaves (often missing) printed with the characteristic Burgundian Gothic type (dart-like *s* and *f*), early in vogue also in England and the Netherlands. Two sets of woodcuts are used in each, a larger one of a monk writing in his cell, repeated up to three times, and a series of from 59 to 66 cuts of the 77 (numbered) plants discussed in the poem. Only lengthy and elaborate description would allow the identification of the various issues from fragmentary copies. These are here avoided in the belief that by taking into account certain typical features of the work (not usually appearing in reference books) a sufficient characterization may be possible.<sup>1</sup>

**Macer floridus de viribus herbarum carmen**

a) [*Lyon or Paris, n.b. 1491*] *Quarto*.

JPM. 541 (Paris: Le Petit Laurens c. 1500)

52 leaves. Sign: *a-f<sup>4</sup>g<sup>4</sup>*. 33 lines. Types: G. 2 sizes (worn); text: G. 82 (A open above. M 37). No woodcut initials, spaces with guide letters. Woodcuts (new): 2 of monk, 66 of plants.

1a: Macer floridus De viribus herbarū || Famosissimus medicus ⁊ medicoꝝ || Speculum. *Below woodcut of monk, repeated on 1b. 52b. blank.*

St. Louis: Missouri Botanical Garden. (Complete copy.) New York: Morgan Library. (Lacks leaf 1. Pollard's entry supplies the only description. Its misprints on 52a 'tutus' for 'doctus' in copy.) Washington: Surgeon General's Library. (Lacks 17 leaves, including first.)

<sup>1</sup> For method of entry see these *Papers*, X (1916), 153. The abbreviations for references cited are the familiar ones of Peddie's *Conspectus*. For the designation of types I follow the example of BMC. IV. Gothic, Semi-Gothic, Roman, are noted by G, SG, and R, the number indicating millimeter-measurement of 20 lines.



## b) [Lyon or Paris, b. 1500.] Quarto.

No reference.

Same collation as a)

1a: Mace[r] floridus / De viribus herbaꝝ || Famosissimus medicus et medicoꝝ || Speculum. *Woodcut of monk same as in a.)*

Boston: Arnold Arboretum (complete copy).

## c) [Paris?] Quarto.

Reichl. 608: Paris c. 1500. (A doubtful and improbable edition. Reichling's copy may have lacked 2 leaves of quire a.)

50 leaves. Sign: a<sup>6</sup> b-f<sup>8</sup>g<sup>4</sup>. 33 lines. Types: G. Otherwise identical with a.

## d) [Lyon or Paris, b. 1500] Quarto.

HC. \*10417 (Cöln). [Pr. 8490 must be error here, probably g, because of interlaced M.]

52 leaves. Sign: a-f<sup>8</sup>g<sup>4</sup>. 33 lines. Types: G. 2 sizes (new), text: G. 82 (A closed above. M37). Lombard initials over 2 lines and few smaller ones (1 line) in marginalia. Woodcuts (worn): 3 of monk, 64 of plants.

1a: Macer floridus || *Woodcut of monk, repeated on 1b. and*

52a. Below: De viribus herbaꝝ. || 52b: blank.

Washington: Surgeon General's library. (Complete copy.)

## e) [Paris?] Quarto.

Reichl. 972 (Paris c. 1500)

Collation same as c, of which it is a variant.

1a: Macer floridus || de viribus || herbarū. || *Woodcut of monk repeated on 1b. and 52a.*

## f) [Paris?] Quarto.

H(?)C.10418 (Paris 1490); Pr. 8489 (after 1500? earlier than c).

Collation same as a, of which it is a variant.

1a: [M] Acer floridus De || viribus herbaꝝ. || Famosissimus medicus ⁊ medicoꝝ || speculum. || *Woodcut of monk repeated on 1b.*

g) [*Lyon or Paris b. 1500*] *Quarto*.

No reference.

44 leaves. Sign: a-e<sup>4</sup>f<sup>4</sup>. 38 lines. Types: G. 2 sizes (worn); text: G. 82 (A closed above. M 37). Lombard initials over 2 lines. Woodcuts (worn): 3 (?) of monk, 59 of plants.

[1a: *Woodcut of monk, repeated on 1b?*] 2a: Incipit libellus Macri de viribus || herbarum. Et primo de arthemisia. *Below first woodcut of plant. [Same block turned.]* 44b. line 2: Macer adest disce: quo duce doctus eris. *Below woodcut of monk (repeated?)*.

Philadelphia: College of Physicians. (Lacks leaf 1.)

h) [*Genève: Loys M. Cruse, b. 1500*] *Quarto*.

No reference.

52 leaves, last blank (?). Sign: a-f<sup>8</sup>g<sup>4</sup>. 31 lines. Types: G. 3 sizes. Largest for title, smallest for marginalia; text: G. 98 (A closed above. M39 feathered on straight front stroke, Proctor: 'interlaced'). Lombard initials over 3 lines and few smaller ones (1 line) in marginalia. Rubr. marks. Woodcuts (worn): 2 (?) of monk, 62 of plants.

1a: MAcer floridus De || viribus herbaꝝ || *Below: Woodcut of monk repeated on 1b. 51b: Text ends. 52: blank (?)*.

Washington: Surgeon General's Library. (Lacks last leaf.)

NOTE.—It did not seem advisable in the present state of our knowledge about French incunabula to assign these editions to definite presses. Proctor, who gives two of the issues to Paris without convincing reasons, has not helped to solve the further question as to the printers. Pollard assigns *a* to Paris, Le Petit Laurens, which is possibly correct, although it may as well go to any of the other printers who were exploited by Jean Petit or Antoine Verard. Personally I feel inclined to suspect the origin of the books in Lyons, but it cannot be profitable to enter into the reasons at present. A closer study of the illustrations will undoubtedly add to our information. I shall discuss this subject in con-

nection with my other lists, which will also help to fix the date of printing. Contrary to Proctor's doubt about the date, a comparison with other similar works forces one to the conclusion that all the editions enumerated were printed before 1500, but not before 1491.

### APULEIUS BARBARUS

Unknown author of an important herbal of which many manuscripts were in circulation from the sixth or seventh century on (Anglo-Saxon version already in the eleventh century). Probably the earliest extant work with illustrations of plants, next to the famous codex of Dioscorides (early sixth century). The author seems to have been neither Roman nor Greek, hence his epithet, and there is not the slightest evidence that he had anything in common with Lucius Apuleius of Madaura in Numidia (born about 125 A.D.), flourishing in Carthage and Athens, author of the *Golden Ass*, whom some appreciate as the "evening star of the Platonic and the morning star of the neo-Platonic philosophy," while Melancthon accused him of "braying like his own ass." The herbarium has an important place in the history of botany and medicine, because of its age, its wide distribution, and also because in the course of its career it served as the gathering-point for the interpolation of additional knowledge. For this reason the extant edition is given here, although only one copy of this rare book seems to exist in this country. Its illustrations, crude formalized pictures of plants, are, with possibly one exception, the earliest ones in a printed book.



Weigel's contention that they were engraved in metal (bent borders), not in wood, has a great deal of force and adds to the interest of the book. Two variants seem to exist:

**Apuleius Barbarus: Herbarium and Marcum Agrippam.**

*Roma: Joannes Philippus de Lignamine* [n. b. 1483]. Quarto.

108 leaves, first and last blank [a<sup>6</sup>; b-n<sup>6</sup>o<sup>6</sup>] 27 lines. Type R: 114 R: 131 cuts of plants. Woodcut wreath on 7a.

Arrangement: (1) Dedicatory epistle, 1-3b or 4a. (2) Table, 4b-6b (3) Text of 132 chapters, 7a-107a. (4) Quire register in 2 cols., 107b.

a) H\*1322. BMC. IV. 131.

*Dedicatory epistle (1) to: F. DE GONZAGA CARDINA.*  
|| MANTVANVM . . .

b) C.II. 532. H\*1322 (note). Weigel (1866) I. p. 111.

*Dedicatory epistle (1) to: D. IVLIANO DE RV || VERE*  
RO. SE. EPISCOPO CARDINALI || SABINENSI . . .

Boston: Mrs. J. Montgomery Sears. Lacks (1), a few leaves of (3) and (4).

NOTE.—Lignamine had a press in his house, but probably never printed himself. He was courtier and physician to Sixtus IV. In his somewhat loquacious dedicatory epistles he usually gives interesting information. Since Cardinal Gonzaga died in October, 1483, it is very likely that the dedication to the nephew of the pope, Cardinal Giulio della Rovere, was substituted during the printing. Therefore variant *b* is the later, and the date of printing 1483 or 1484 can be fixed with fair accuracy. Mrs. Sears's copy, which seems to be the only one in America, must be variant *b*, because Lignamine's epistle ends on 4a, blank in both Hain's and the British Museum copies.

The Hortus Sanitatis family:

**HERBARIUS, GART DER GESUNDHEIT,  
HORTUS SANITATIS<sup>1</sup>**

Despite the prolific varieties of entries indulged in by bibliographers and authors, it will help our understanding of this most important group of fifteenth-century herbals if we adhere strictly to the tripartition as indicated in the title. We have to reckon with about forty issues of books belonging to this family. Each one bears the distinctive individuality which marks it as belonging to one of the three groups. Minor variations of the text, additions of tables and indexes, and the modifications of the woodcut illustrations are apt to confuse one who for the first time approaches these books, especially as the rarity of the volumes precludes their ready comparison. The lists below will show that we have in American libraries some excellent specimens of these herbals but not nearly all. It ought to be our ambition to secure every one and, if not obtainable in the original, at least to get photographic reproductions.

In order to make clear the significance of these books let us remember that a herbal in the sense of the fifteenth

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<sup>1</sup> Various cited and entered, mostly without distinction, under the following headings: *Herbarius latinus* (Maguntinus, Passavinus, Patavinus), *Herbarius latinus cum figuris*, *Herbarius in dietsche*, *Herbolario*, *Arbolayre*, *Grand Herhier en francoys*, *Gart der Gesundheit*, *Aggregator practicus de medicinis simplicibus*, *Kruidboek*, *Hortus* or *Ortus sanitatis*, the smaller and the larger *Hortus*, *Herbarius zu teutsch*, the German *Herbarius* or *Hortus*, *Jardin de santé*, etc. Also assigned to definite authors as: *Arnoldus de Villanova, de virtutibus herbarum* or *Johannes de Cube* (Cuba, Kaub on the Rhine).

century is not a botanical treatise, as its name might imply, but a medical book intended for both people and physician. In a way it marks a reaction against the expensive apothecary shop, calling attention to the valuable herbs free to all, in fields and woods, and similarly also to remedies derived from animals and minerals. A popular medicine book it might be called, but by no means in the sense we attach nowadays to this sort of literature, for it served undoubtedly also in the technical education of the time. We are apt to forget that almost the entire structure of our modern science rests on such humble beginnings and in our intensely specialistic preoccupation we tend to overlook the powerful influence of the popular element. It appears as something new, immensely fresh and vigorous, this assertion of a popular desire for enlightenment, for greater freedom from mere erudite tradition, from privileged classes, guilds, etc. Increasing in intensity from the thirteenth century on it is directly responsible for the invention of printing, which was to fulfil the demand for a more rapid mode of multiplication and a wider distribution.

Thus these books gathered what the monastic student had "milked," often uncritically, as in the *Macer floridus* and the *Apuleius*, from the brains of the ancients, and added to it what a wider experience with and a closer observation of the surrounding nature had brought to light. But not only the collection of facts but also their systematic arrangement is the new characteristic of these books, significantly marking the onset of inductive science.



Only a painstaking study of the sources can allow us to apportion the share which classic erudition, mediaeval symbolism, and folk intuition contributed to these books. This is another important task which, however, does not concern us here. The bibliographer must primarily distinguish the differences, the origins, and the distribution of the various editions of these books. Light on the cultural interrelations of the times and an apportionment of the share of racial and national contribution at the onset of modern scientific endeavor should result from such research.

The common characteristics of the three members of the Hortus family are that they contain at least one illustrated part and several non-illustrated parts, mainly tables and indexes. All of them have woodcuts of plants, some have other pictures. The Herbarius is the prototype; the Gart der Gesundheit, though based on the Herbarius, is a new creation in the vernacular, distinguished by original concepts, both textually and artistically, while the Hortus proper, combining both the virtues and vices of the former, is more ambitious in scope, more complex because of added material—an elaboration of the Herbarius, but less lucid and original than the Gart der Gesundheit. The finer distinctions will be brought out in the lists below. Some of the issues are cited from reliable authorities, which are always indicated, so that adjustments of the entries can be made upon inspection of the volumes. Assignments to different headings will, I trust, not be necessary in these cases.

## Herbarius Latinus

Arrangement of text and woodcuts: (1) Title page, (2) Preface beginning: Rogatum plurimorum etc., (3) Medicinal weights; *Illustrated part*, (4) Alphabetical table of herbs, (5) Particula I de virtutibus herbarum, 150 illustrated plants; *Non-illustrated part*: (6) Index of 96 drugs, discussed in (7) Particula II to VI under headings indicating their action or derivation.

In the following two lists the undated and dated editions are given separately. Woodcuts of plants up to the number of 150 prevail, only the dated issues b. and f. have a few other historiated woodcuts in addition.

## Undated Editions

a) *Herbarius latinus*. [Middle Rhine, Palatinate]

[*Speier: J. & C. Hist.*] *Quarto*.

Choul. Inc. 2. p. 14; H. \*8448=HC. 8443 (Typis Reyserianis), C (Veldener); JPM. 190 (Aggregator); VB 2056; GL 1890 (Schoeffer).

172 leaves. Quires: [a<sup>4</sup> | b-u<sup>8</sup> | x-y<sup>8</sup>]. 32-34 lines. Type G. Woodcuts: 150 numbered plants (new) with Latin and German names. Title on 1a.

2a: [R]Ogatu plurimorum inopum num || . . .

NOTE.—Hain described an imperfect copy under one heading, from secondary sources under another. The concordance of both is evident. Another edition indicated by Choulant (5 p. 15) is probably identical with this. Certain misprints suggest that alterations were made during the impression, not a new edition set up.

New York: J. P. Morgan Library. In this copy the last two quires are bound behind the first quire, simulating a different arrangement of the contents. This was overlooked by the cataloguer.

b) **Herbarius latinus.** [Danube, Bavaria][Passau: *Joh. Petri*]. Quarto.

H\*8447 (imp.); VB 1940; Col. Upps. 692; Pell. 1310 (Arnaldus de Villa Nova, Passau: *Joh. Alacraw & Mair*, copy seems to lack two tables).

74 leaves. 22 lines. Types: G. 92(150). Woodcuts: 150 numbered plants (new) with Latin and German names.

2a: rOgatu plurimoꝝ || inopum nūmeꝝ egentium appote  
|| . . .

c) **Herbarius latinus.** [Lower Rhine, Brabant, Burgundy][Louvain]: *Joh. Veldener* [about 1484]. Quarto.

Choul. Inc. 4. p. 15; CA. \*916 (Kuilenburg); Pell. 1309 (Arnaldus, Kuilenburg); Pr. 9299 (Herbarius & Aggregator, Louvain); HMT. 116(35)2b; Conway, woodcutters Netherl. xv. C. p. 213.

174 leaves. 27-30 lines. Type G. Woodcuts: 150 plants (worn) with Latin and Netherlandish names. Pr. D. 2 shields in floral border on ra.

2a: [R]Ogatu plurimorū iopū nūmorū egētiū ap || . . .

NOTE.—Veldener printed this edition after having issued at Kuilenburg the translated version of the same book with the date 1484 (see below *Herbarius* in dietsche). He returned during this year from the latter place to Louvain and there can be little doubt that the Latin issues were intended for the academic market in this town, if not actually printed here.

d) **Herbarius latinus.** [Lower Rhine, Brabant, Burgundy][Louvain]: *Joh. Veldener* [about 1485-1486]. Quarto.

Choul. Inc. 3. p. 14 (Antwerpen, van der Goes); CA. 917 (Kuilenburg); Pr. 9298 (Louvain); Col. Stockh. 517 (Louvain); Conway (ab. 1486).

174 leaves etc. same as the previous issue, but ra. blank(?).

2a: rOgatu plurimorū iopū nūmorū egē || tiū appotecas . . .

NOTE.—The first leaf of this edition seems to be lacking in most copies. It is quite possible therefore that copies of this reprint were issued with Veldener's device and border on the title page.



e) *Herbarius latinus*. [France or Burgundy]

[Paris: Jean Bonhomme, about 1485]. Quarto.

From Cl. I p. 195; Pr. 8050 (*Aggregator practicus de simplicibus*).

? leaves. 28 lines. Signatures. Type G. Woodcuts: 150(?) plants with Latin and French names.

2a: [R]Ogatu plurioꝝ iopū nūmoꝝ egētiū ap || . . .

NOTE.—Claudin gives facsimile pages but no full description. Pel-lechet omitted the edition entirely although there is a copy in Paris (Ecole sup. de pharmacie). Whether the book is signed by Jean Bonhomme or not is not clear from Claudin's and Proctor's entries.

f) *Herbarius latinus*. [Italy, Venetia]

[Venezia: Simon Bevilacqua] for Luc. Ant. de Giunta. Quarto.

Reichl. II, 404 (Arnoldus de Villanova).

172 leaves. Type R. Woodcuts: 150 numbered plants (worn) with Latin names. P.D. with "L.A." and red printing on 1a.

2a: ARNOLDI de noua uilla Auicenna. | ROGATV . . .

NOTE.—Seems to be a variant of the dated Venezia edition of 1499. May have a colophon on last leaf which was missing in Reichling's copy. Probably xvi. Century, apt to be mistaken for one of the incunabula editions.

g) *Herbarius latinus*. [Italy, Venetia]

[Venezia: Alessandro de Bindoni]. Quarto.

Kristeller Pr.D. 194.

154 leaves. Type R. Woodcuts: 150 numbered plants (worn) with Latin names. Pr.D.: Justice with 2 shields and 2 lions, with "A.B."

2a: ARNOLDI DE NOVA VILLA Auicenna. || ROGATV plurimorum inopu nu || . . .

NOTE.—Alessandro printed between 1507 and 1522. This edition, the same as the previous one, closely resembles the incunabula editions. In all of them the original Vicenza woodblocks were used. Of the text part II is missing in this last issue, also weights and table are placed at the end.

Washington: Surgeon General's Library.

h) *Herbarius in dietsche*. [Translation. Netherlands]

*Antwerpen: Willem Vosterman. Quarto.*

From Choul. Inc. 14 p. 17; HMT. 233 p. 90.

174 leaves. 30 lines. Type G. Woodcuts: 150 plants with Latin and Netherlandish names. Pr.D.

2a: Dye prologhe des ouersetters. || wt den latijn in dyetsche || . . .

NOTE.—Evidently a reprint from Veldener's Kuilenburg edition of 1484, issued after 1500.

*Dated Editions*a) *Herbarius latinus*. [Middle Rhine, Palatinate]

*Mainz: Peter Schoeffer, [14]84. Quarto.*

Choul. Inc. 1 p. 13; HC. 8444; Pr. 121 (Bodl); BMC. I. 39 (1490?, H 8443?); Pell. 1311 (Arnaldus); Sudh. 83a.

174 leaves. Woodcuts: Q 150 numbered plants (new) with Latin and German names. Pr.D.: 2 shields on branch (sometimes red printing) on 1a.

2a: [R]Ogatu plurimoꝝ inopū nūmoꝝ || . . .

NOTE.—The first leaf with the title, printed either in black or red, or in both colors: *Herbarius. Ma- || guntie impressus. || Anno 7<sup>c</sup>. lxxxiii.* || is lacking in most copies. The printer is identified only by the device printed below the title. The British Museum Catalogue describes (2 copies) evidently this edition, although it is identified with the undated Middle Rhine issue. The description contains several mistakes in the collation and no reason is given for the improbable date of 1490.

St. Louis: Missouri Botanical Garden. (Lacks leaf 1.)

b) *Herbarius in dietsche*. [Lower Rhine, Lek, Burgundy]

Anonymous translation into Netherlandish idiom [old Dutch, Flemish?]

[*Kuilenburg: Joh. Veldener*] 1484. *Quarto.*

Choul. Inc. 13 p. 17; H 8449; CA. \*918; Pr. 9158; Poll. Hawkins 479 (Aggregator, Kruidboek, in index *Herbarius*); see also HMT. 34(115)2b and Conway p. 203.

208 leaves. Quires: [x<sup>8</sup> | a-t<sup>8</sup>u<sup>4</sup> | A-E<sup>8</sup>F<sup>4</sup>]. 25 lines. Types: G. 113 (120?). Woodcuts: 150 numbered plants (new, mostly reversed). 'Tree of Jesse,' 'Fall of man,' large 'G' and Pr.D. 2 shields of which one blank.

2a: Dye prologhe de [!] ouersettters výt || den Latýn in dýetsche. *The translator's prologue ends and the work begins on 3b*: [M]Ant veellyen mids der armoeden de apote || ken . . .

NOTE.—The contents of this work are the same as those of the prototype (Middle Rhine), with the addition of a preface by the translator. The additional woodcuts were previously used by Veldener in his quarto edition of the 'Spiegel onser behoudenisse' of 1483 (they are half blocks from the earlier folio edition). They as well as the printers' device identify printer and place.

Providence: Hawkins Collection, Annmary Brown Memorial.

c) **Herbarius latinus.** [Danube, Bavaria]

Passau: [Joh. Petri], [14]85. Quarto.

H.\*8445; Pell. 1312 (Arnaldus); Pr. 2829; BMC. II. 616 Choul. Inc. 6 p. 14.

174 leaves. 32 lines. Types: G. 92(150). Woodcuts: 150 numbered plants with Latin and German names.

2a: [R]Ogatu plurimoz || iopū nūmoz egētiū appotecas re= || . . .

Chicago: John Crerar Library. (Imp.)

d) **Herbarius latinus.** [Danube, Bavaria]

Passau: [Joh. Petri], [14]86. Quarto.

H.\*8446; Pell. 1313 (Arnaldus); Choul. Inc. 7 p. 14. [BMC. II. 616 see next entry].

174 leaves. 32 lines. Types: G. 92(150). Woodcuts: Same as previous edition (worn).

2a: rOgatu plurimoz || inopum nūmoz egencium appote || . . .

e) **Herbarius latinus.** [Danube, Bavaria]

Passau: [Joh. Petri], [14]86. Quarto.

From BMC. II 616 (incorrectly equated with H.\*8446).

174 leaves etc. same as previous issue.



2a: [R]Ogatu plurimor̃ || inopum nūmor̃ egentium appote  
|| . . .

NOTE.—This is probably only a variant of the previous issue.

f) **Herbarius latinus.** [Italy, Venetia]

Vicenza: *Leonardus Achates de Basilea & Gulielmus de Pavia socii*, 27 October 1491. Quarto.

HC. 8451 (Herbolarivm); C. III p. 264 (33 lines) = C 649a p. 315 (35 lines and other slight differences); [Pell. 1314 see next entry].

172 leaves. 34 lines. Type R. Woodcuts: 150 numbered plants (new) with Latin names, two men sitting, facing each other, holding flowers, one with cap at desk (Arnoldus), the other with crown and staff (Avicenna). Floral border with laurel wreath and blank shield. 5-line initial.

2a: *Below woodcut and inside of border:* ARNOLDI DE NOVA VILLA AVICENNA. || ¶ INCIPIT Tractatus de uirtutibus herbarum. || R OGATV PLVRIMORVM INOPVM || nūmorum egentium appotecas refutantium || . . .

NOTE.—In later editions the title woodcut with the two men was omitted but the names were kept. This gave rise to the confusion about the authorship. The woodcut does not seem to have been made for this work because the printer used it more than a year earlier in the Italian version of the Petrus de Crescentiis, *Opus ruralium commodorum* (Vicenza: 17 February 1490), with certain changes.

Boston: Boston Medical Library.

g) **Herbarius latinus.**

*Same place and printer as above.*

From Pell. 1314 (Arnaldus).

156 leaves. 33 lines, otherwise same as above.

2a: Same woodcut. Below: ARNOLDI DE NOVA || VILLA AVICENNA. || INCIPIT tractatus . . .

NOTE.—May be error, but possibly also a different edition in which the second part is omitted.

**h) Herbarius latinus. [Italy, Venetia]**

Venezia: Simon Bevilaqua, 14 December 1499. Quarto.

HC.\*1807 (Arnoldus de Villa Nova: De virtutibus herbarum sive [!] Avicenna); Pell. 1315 (Arnaldus); Pr. 5415.

172 leaves. 28-37 lines. Types: R (few G). Woodcuts: 150 numbered plants (old blocks) with Latin names.

1a. Title: Incipit Tractatus de || virtutibus herbarum

2a: ARNOLDI de noua uilla Auicenna. ROGATV plurimorū inopū || nūmorum egentium appote- || . . .

NOTE.—Both Hain and Pellechet have some different spellings in their descriptions (variants?).

Washington: Surgeon General's Library (2 copies, one with tinted pictures).

(To be continued)

## THE CHICAGO LITERARY CLUB

BY EDWARD OSGOOD BROWN

WITH A BIBLIOGRAPHY BY AKSEL G. S. JOSEPHSON

MARCH 13, 1874, seven well-known citizens of Chicago interested in literature and literary pursuits met at the Sherman House in Chicago to consider the formation of a club to be composed of persons congenial and acceptable to each other and distinguished to some degree by a love of letters.

Robert Collyer, the well-known Unitarian clergyman, acted as chairman, and Mr. Edward G. Mason, an eminent lawyer and historical scholar, as secretary, of the meeting, the records of which have been preserved. The condition of Chicago made such a club greatly to be desired in the opinion of the gentlemen who had assembled.

The fire which has passed into local history as "The Great Fire" had swept away a large part of Chicago a little more than two years before. It had destroyed all the public, and a disproportionately large part of the private, libraries of Chicago, for these last were mostly in that part of the city through which the fire had made its fearful havoc. Old associations had been disorganized and broken up by the great changes in residence which the destruction and the rebuilding had brought about. The old residents had been deprived of their books and their literary associates, and young men who were coming in large numbers to the arising city were vainly seeking for both.



The Chicago spirit was high. Everywhere there was mental as well as physical energy and activity in evidence. But there seemed to be danger that in the race for its renewed "place in the sun," expected to be higher than ever before in material achievement, Chicago might neglect this necessity for the re-establishment of the "things of the Spirit." The fact that it did not, and that its libraries and art galleries and its civic, artistic, and literary activities count for what they do in the city's life today, the older members of the Chicago Literary Club are glad to believe that they may without self-glorification assume is not altogether without its connection with the tone and impulse given by the Chicago Literary Club to its most influential citizenship throughout the earlier years of its rebuilding.

The meeting of March 13 adjourned to meet again on March 17, a committee having been appointed to invite to this second meeting as many as possible out of a list of the "chosen." There were in this list statesmen, like Senators Trumbull and Doolittle; distinguished clergymen, like Bishop Whitehouse and David Swing; eminent lawyers, like Melville Fuller, Thomas Hoyne, and Wirt Dexter; judges, like Jameson and Booth; and authors, like Horace White, M. J. Savage, Joseph Kirkland, Francis Browne, and William Mathews. Almost all of the persons named in the list—all that I have mentioned among them—eventually became members of the Club. But the time was too short for very effective recruiting between March 13 and March 17, and upon the latter

day there were but thirteen present at the adjourned meeting, the present writer being the least important and the youngest. He is today the only survivor.

At this meeting the resolution to limit the membership to fifty, which had been adopted the week before, was rescinded, and an indefinite increase resolved on so long as eligible members could be secured and until the Club was fully organized. The limit for the resident membership of the Club was finally fixed at two hundred and fifty. Its actual present resident membership is about one hundred and fifty. Meetings of the gentlemen originally called together, with accessions at each meeting from among the selected list, were held each week until May 4, 1874, when there occurred the "First Regular Meeting" under a constitution and by-laws which had been prepared, presented, and adopted at these preliminary gatherings.

Robert Collyer had been made president and Edward G. Mason, secretary, their term of office to be for one year. It has been the unvaried practice and tradition of the Club to allow to the president no second term of office. The distinction has been the more highly prized on that account, and from 1874 to 1916 the list of our forty-four presidents contains the names of most forceful personalities and the leaders of Chicago's best citizenship. The secretaryship, on the other hand, has changed its incumbent but twice since the organization of the Club. From 1874 to 1876 Mr. Mason held the office, from 1876 to 1880 the secretary and treasurer was William Eliot

Furness. But in 1880 Frederick W. Gookin was elected to this combined office, and there has been no change since, nor is there likely to be so long as the present incumbent lives and is willing to accept the annual election sure to come. It is, in the opinion of the writer, to Mr. Gookin and to his indefatigable efforts in the interests of the Club that it owes in great part its prosperity and the unflagging interest of its members through these forty-four years and the fourteen hundred and eighteen regular meetings which have taken place.

At that first meeting rules were adopted which have since but occasionally been departed from. The meetings were to be weekly, on Monday evenings, during the year, except in midsummer. The first half-hour after the meeting time appointed for the Club and the hour or more after the literary diversions of the evening were to be devoted to social conversation or to some informal social recreation. In late years the post-literary exercises have always included a collation, light enough to fit the midnight hour to which the meetings sometimes stretch. The usual literary exercise was, by the rule adopted, to last but an hour. Generally it was to be an essay by some predetermined member, but scope for less formal papers was provided by the arrangement that, once in every two months at least, a collection of short contributions to a Club paper, edited by some assigned member, should be read. During the half-century, almost, that has passed, the essay has preserved its relative importance in the scheme of the Club's exercises, although there



have been introduced sparingly variations in the way of "Conversations," formal and informal, musical programmes, and "Book Nights," the last being in reality nothing but "Conversations" about books recently published.

With varying temporary relaxations permitting the introduction of resident visitors, the privileges of the Club have been confined to its members, but it has frequently given itself the pleasure and honor of marking by formal receptions the visits of distinguished men of letters to Chicago. This is not a history of the Club, and I shall not, therefore, in this sketch, describe these events noted in its annals, or the various discussions which resulted in two or three "Ladies' Nights" a year, sparsely scattered through it. Nor is it necessary to note the changes of location for the Club meetings. Up to October, 1875, the Club met at the Sherman House in one of its public clubrooms. In October, 1875, it took possession of rooms which it had leased for its exclusive use in the building of the American Express Company. It has since made several changes in its location, but has always either exclusively or in conjunction with some other organization maintained its own club home. At present it occupies in connection with the Caxton Club a suite of rooms in the Fine Arts Building. The Club was incorporated under the laws of Illinois in 1886.

The nature of its literary activities and the publications under its immediate auspices and direction are the chief matters involved in this sketch, and I leave all else in its

history and records in order to pass to a description of them.

At the meeting of May 4, 1874, it was determined that the essayist elected or agreeing to read a paper should choose his own subject and should be free to express any views, doctrines, or opinions that he might wish to express, and that no paper should be subjected to criticism on the evening when read, but that it might be controverted in a subsequent paper by any essayist desiring to do so.

It was ordered also that the Club as a club should not express nor be sponsor for any opinion "in religion, politics, social science, political economy, or any other subject," nor by vote indorse or condemn any such opinion.

A committee on "Order of Exercises" was, before the first meeting of the Club in the autumn in each year, to prepare and print a scheme of exercises with the dates and names of the readers, essayists, and editors for the season to come. The subject of each essay was to be announced at the meeting next preceding its reading and when possible also in the "Scheme of Exercises." During the entire history of the Club these rules have been universally observed.

The first paper was read May 18, 1874, at the second regular meeting of the Club, by Reverend L. T. Chamberlain on "Physical Pain, Its Nature and the Law of Its Distribution"; and at this writing, the last, at the Fourteen Hundred and Eighteenth Regular

Meeting, by Mr. William Ludlow Chenery on "The Woman Movement." Between these two papers, more than forty-four years apart, there have been a great number of articles read which were not published by the Club, but were worthy of preservation in printed and permanent form. Some of them have been so preserved by reproduction in published collections of the authors' papers (such as William Mathews' and David Swing's) and a considerable number by publication in magazines or other periodicals or by printing by the author for private distribution. Their general nature during all that time may be well inferred from a partial list of those read in the season of 1874-75 and of those read and to be read in the season of 1916-17. In the earlier year these were the subjects: "Thomas DeQuincey," "Artistic Decoration and Improvement of Our Streets," "Genius and Characteristics of Walter Scott," "The Newspaper," "American Antiquities," "Arthur Hugh Clough," "Culture and Professional Life," "Travel and Travellers," "Oregon and the Secret History of the Ordinance of 1787," "Method in Political Economy," "Evidences of the Resurrection Examined." In 1916-17 the list contains among others these titles: "The Influence of Nietzsche on Germany," "Democracy and Education," "Progress, the Idea and the Reality," "An October Sunday in Massachusetts," "Impressions of Siberia and Russia," "The Woman Movement," "Jefferson as a Pacifist," "Some Well-known Roman Women," "Political Life in Washington, 1888-1894," "Butler's Erewhon and Erewhon



Revisited," "The Theater in Japan." The range of subjects is possibly as well exemplified by these titles taken at random from the two extremes of the Club's history as it could be by greater detail.

The first publication under the direction of the Club seems to have been a small pamphlet printed as a memorial of an anniversary dinner, November 3, 1874, on William Cullen Bryant's eightieth birthday. Mr. Bryant was then the dean of American letters, and it was thought fitting for the Club to notice his birthday. He was not able to be present, but his brother, a resident of Illinois for many years, represented him and bore his gracious words of thanks for the recognition given to him.

The principal interest of the bibliography of the Club must rest in the twenty-six separate Club papers which it has published. Before 1894 the only action of the Club looking toward the preservation of any of the papers read at its meetings had been an attempt (which had practically universally failed) to secure manuscript copies for preservation in its archives, and the transcription into the records of some of the inaugural addresses of the successive presidents. At the Six Hundred and Sixtieth Meeting of the Club, however, the secretary laid before it a plan for the publication of such papers as the Club might deem especially worthy of preservation and which the authors might not wish to reserve for future, more professional, literary use. The plan was approved and the rules then adopted are sub-

stantially those now in force, the changes that have been made from time to time being relatively immaterial:

All papers printed by the Club shall be issued separately in small volumes, or booklets, uniform in size and in the very best style so far as paper, presswork, and the general make-up are concerned. In other words, the books in their outward appearance, as well as their subject-matter, must be creditable to the Club and such as to please book-lovers.

One copy of every paper printed shall be sent to each member whose dues to the Club are fully paid; and an opportunity shall be given in advance of publication to subscribe for additional copies at the cost of manufacture and delivery.

The author of any paper printed by the Club shall be entitled to ten copies without charge.

The selection of papers to be printed shall be made by a Committee on Publications, to consist of three members, who shall be appointed each year by the President of the Club.

Recognizing the fact that many of the papers read before the Club are on themes of transient interest, or such as to interest but few of the members; and that others are prepared in such haste that their authors would not care to have them printed; and that it is desirable to make the standard of papers printed by the Club as high as possible, the Committee shall not authorize the printing of more than three in any one year, unless the conspicuous merit of a larger number and the abundant subscriptions received shall make it appear unquestionably wise to do so. They shall be under no obligation to authorize the printing of any greater number than they see fit.

In making their selections the Committee shall be guided by the expressed wishes of the members present when the papers are read before the Club, but shall be free to disregard such expressions concerning any paper they may deem unworthy of the imprint of the Club. Slips shall be provided upon which the members

present at any meeting of the Club may vote in favor of printing the paper to which they have just listened; but they must sign their ballots and indicate the number of copies they will subscribe for in case the Committee decides favorably. A locked box or boxes shall be provided in the Club rooms in which these ballots may be deposited; or they may be sent to the chairman of the Committee after the meeting. The result of the ballot shall in all cases be kept secret by the Committee.

In form the ballots shall be substantially as follows:

#### CHICAGO LITERARY CLUB

##### TO THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS:

In my opinion the paper by.....  
which was read at the meeting on.....  
at which I was present, should be printed by the Club.

If it should be decided to print it, I hereby subscribe for  
.....cop. ...., it being understood that the price will not exceed  
fifty cents per copy.

.....  
CHICAGO.....191

At such intervals as may be convenient, say every two or three months, if the Committee has selected any paper or papers to be printed, they shall send a circular to all the members of the Club inviting subscriptions therefor, in addition to those already received. They shall not authorize the printing of any paper except with the approval of the Board of Directors.



BIBLIOGRAPHY

The BRYANT celebration by the Chicago Literary Club.  
November 3, 1874. Chicago: Jansen, McClurg & Co., 1875.

33 p. 8°.

Printed at the Press of Knight & Leonard.

Prepared by the Secretary of the Club, Edward Gay Mason.

Committee on arrangements for Bryant celebration by the Chicago Literary Club: Robert Collyer, *president*, Horatio N. Powers, *corresponding secretary*, William Mathews, Edward O. Brown, John Wilkinson.

Committee on Publication: Edward G. Mason, *recording secretary*, Leander T. Chamberlain, Frank (i.e., Francis) F. Browne.

Address by the President, p. 8-11.

Address by Mr. Arthur Bryant, p. 12-14.

Address by Mr. John Bryant, p. 14-16.

Poem, by William Cullen Bryant—the first 25 lines of a poem addressed to his older brother, A. Bryant.

Address by the Rev. Horatio N. Powers, p. 19-24.

Address by Ex-Senator J. R. Doolittle, p. 24-27.

Address by the Rev. Dr. H. W. Thomas, p. 27-29.

Poem by Mr. F. F. Browne, p. 30-31.

Address by Mr. Thomas S. Chard, p. 31-32.

***Club Papers***

Privately printed for members of the Club on Van Gelder hand-made paper, or Old Stratford paper, in 16mo, the new series in 8°, with ornamental covers designed by Frederick W. Gookin.

1. A true love story. By DAVID SWING. Chicago Literary Club, 1894.

33, (11) p., 1 leaf.

With two decorative illustrations, headbands, tailpieces and initials by F. W. Gookin.

A story about Chateaubriand at the banks of the Mississippi. Ends with the following note: "N.B. This story is a serial and will be read in sections until the Club may seem satisfied."

Read before the Club, November 13, 1893.

Printed in November, 1894, by T. L. De Vinne & Co., New York.

Edition: 215 copies.

2. A deserted village. By HENRY SHERMAN BOUTELL.  
Chicago Literary Club, 1894.

63, [1] p., 1 leaf.

Decorative title-page by F. W. Gookin.

The story of the decline of Ashford, Conn.

Read before the Club, December 18, 1893.

Printed in November, 1894, at the De Vinne Press, New York.

Edition: 215 copies.

3. The value of mental impressions in the treatment of disease.  
By WILLIAM THOMAS BELFIELD. Chicago Literary Club, 1896.

26 p., 1 leaf.

Decorative title-page by F. W. Gookin.

Read before the Club, February 24, 1896.

Printed in February, 1896, at the De Vinne Press, New York.

Edition: 170 papers.

4. A local phase of labor combination. By SAMUEL HENRY  
WRIGHT. Chicago Literary Club, 1900.

40 p., 1 leaf.

A study of the Building Trades Council of Chicago.

Read before the Club, November 27, 1899.

Printed at the Lakeside Press, Chicago.

Edition: 865 copies

5. A king of France unnamed in history. By CHARLES  
EDWARD CHENEY. Chicago Literary Club, 1902.

86 p., 1 leaf.

Frontispiece: facsimile of Rienzi's charte. Ornaments by F. W. Gookin.

On "the mysterious career of Giannino of Siena, who claimed to be John I.  
of France."

Appendices.—I: Letter of Brother Antoine of the Order of the Hermits of  
St. Augustine.—II: A letter of Nicolas di Rienzi to Giannino.—III: A letter of  
Nicolas di Rienzi to Giannino.—IV: Translation of Rienzi's charte.—V. Doc-  
uments relative to Giannino and his pretensions to the crown of France.  
P. 49-86.

Read before the Club, March 3, 1902.

Printed in June, 1902, at the Lakeside Press, Chicago.

Edition: 705 copies.

6. Some religious views: four papers read before the Chicago Literary Club, Monday evening, December 5, 1904. Chicago Literary Club, 1905.

80 p., 1 leaf.

Ornaments by F. W. Gookin.

Introductory remarks. President FREDERIC WOODMAN ROOT. P. 7-10.

A Catholic contribution. EDWARD OSGOOD BROWN. P. 11-31.

Fundamental religious truths applied to life. LORING WILBUR MESSER.

P. 33-45.

A non-ecclesiastical confession of religious faith. LOUIS FREELAND POST.

P. 47-64.

The message of Judaism to the twentieth century. JOSEPH STOLZ.

P. 65-80.

Printed in April, 1905, at the Lakeside Press, Chicago.

Edition: 430 copies.

7. The second Norman conquest of England. By CHARLES EDWARD CHENEY. Chicago Literary Club, 1907.

50 p., 1 leaf, map.

Ornaments by F. W. Gookin.

The story of John Lackland and the invasion of England by the French under Prince Louis.

Read before the Club, March 12, 1906.

Printed in February, 1907, at the Lakeside Press, Chicago.

Edition: 510 copies.

8. A quarter-century of English literature, 1880-1905. By WILLIAM MORTON PAYNE, LL.D. Chicago Literary Club, 1908.

36 p., 1 leaf.

Read before the Club, November 25, 1907.

Printed in May, 1908, at the Lakeside Press, Chicago.

Edition: 360 copies.

9. John Milton: a paper read before the Chicago Literary Club, Monday evening, December 7, 1908, in celebration of the tercentenary of the poet's birth. By CHARLES JOSEPH LITTLE. Chicago Literary Club, 1909.

39, (1) p., 1 leaf.

Printed in January, 1909, at the Lakeside Press, Chicago.

Edition: 430 copies.



10. Our defective American banking system; a diagnosis and a prescription. By FREDERICK WILLIAM GOOKIN. Chicago Literary Club, 1909.

52 p., 1 leaf.

Ornaments by the author.

Read before the Club, November 2, 1908.

Printed in February, 1909, at the Lakeside Press, Chicago.

Edition: 520 copies.

11. The Icelandic sagas, their origin and character. By WILLIAM NEWNHAM CHATTIN CARLTON. Chicago Literary Club, 1912.

[4] 45, [1] p., 1 leaf.

Ornaments by F. W. Gookin.

Appendix I: The death of Gunnar.—II: The burning. P. 40-46.

Read before the Club, December 12, 1910.

Printed in June, 1912, at the Lakeside Press, Chicago.

Edition: 450 copies.

12. The barefoot maid at the Fountain Inn. By CHARLES EDWARD CHENEY. Chicago Literary Club, 1912.

40, [1] p., 1 leaf.

The story of Charles Henry Frankland, collector of the Port of Boston, and his wife, Agnes Surriage, of Marblehead, Mass.

Read before the Club, November 13, 1911.

Printed in June, 1912, at the Lakeside Press, Chicago.

Edition: 660 copies.

13. A belated Plantagenet. By CHARLES EDWARD CHENEY. Chicago Literary Club, 1914.

53, [1] p., 1 leaf.

The story of Arthur Plantagenet, Viscount Lisle.

Read before the Club, February 3, 1913.

Printed in March, 1914, at the Lakeside Press, Chicago.

Edition: 375 copies.

14. Robert J. Walker, imperialist. By WILLIAM EDWARD DODD. Chicago Literary Club, 1914.

40 p., 1 leaf.

Read before the Club, October 28, 1912.

Printed in March, 1914, at the Lakeside Press, Chicago.

Edition: 285 copies.

15. William Vaughn Moody. By EDWIN HERBERT LEWIS.  
Chicago Literary Club, 1914.

44 p., 1 leaf.

Read before the Club, November 4, 1912.

Printed in March, 1914, at the Lakeside Press, Chicago.

Edition: 275 copies.

16. De senectute. By EDWARD OSGOOD BROWN. Chicago  
Literary Club, 1914.

68 p., 1 leaf.

A conversation between "Cato," "Scipio," and "Laelius."

Read before the Club, March 9, 1914.

Printed in March, 1914, at the Lakeside Press, Chicago.

Edition: 421 copies.

17. Inaugural address by President CHARLES BERT REED,  
M.D., before the Chicago Literary Club at the annual dinner,  
October 5, 1914. Chicago Literary Club, 1914.

34, [2] p.

Reproduction (?) of a "conversazione" at the Club about its influence  
and function.

Printed in October, 1914, at the Lakeside Press, Chicago.

Edition: 275 copies.

18. Albrecht von Haller, a physician—not without honor.  
By CHARLES BERT REED, M.D. Chicago Literary Club, 1915.

56 p., 1 leaf.

With portrait of Haller after a bronze relief, a facsimile of one of his ex-  
libris, and a picture of his residence in Bern.

Read before the Club, March 15, 1915.

Printed in May, 1915, at the Lakeside Press, Chicago.

Edition: 361 copies.

19. The valley and villa of Horace. By PAYSON SIBLEY WILD.  
Chicago Literary Club, 1915.

49, [1] p., 1 leaf.

Read before the Club, February 8, 1915.

With a map of the Licenza valley and seven illustrations from photo-  
graphs by Professor O. F. Long.

Printed in May, 1915, at the Lakeside Press, Chicago.

Edition: 381 copies.

20. Pseudo-humanism. By JOHN DANIEL WILD. Chicago Literary Club, 1915.

40 p., 1 leaf.

With a review of Bertrand Russell's philosophical writings.

Read before the Club, April 27, 1915.

Printed in December, 1915, at the Lakeside Press, Chicago.

Edition: 265 copies.

21. An early literary club. Inaugural address by President PAYSON SIBLEY WILD, read before the Chicago Literary Club at the annual dinner, October 4, 1915. Silhouette portraits by Earl Howell Reed. Chicago Literary Club, 1916.

45, (11) p., 1 leaf. 19 silhouette portraits.

A facetious sketch of the Chicago Literary Club and some of its members.

Printed in February, 1916, at the Lakeside Press, Chicago.

Edition: 349 copies.

22. Pessimism and optimism. Fresh treatment of an old subject. By VICTOR YARROS. Chicago Literary Club, 1916.

30 p., 1 leaf.

Read before the Club, May 22, 1916.

Printed in July, 1916, at the Lakeside Press, Chicago.

Edition: 334 copies.

23. The land of lost causes. By FRANCIS WARNER PARKER. Chicago Literary Club, 1916.

32 p., 1 leaf.

" . . . a land of weird fascinations, strange geography, peculiar ethnology, abnormal history, and unusual civilization; . . . the continent of Africa. . . . "

Read before the Club, April 24, 1916.

Printed in July, 1916, at the Lakeside Press, Chicago.

Edition: 393 copies.

New Series.

24. Illinois state parks. By THEODORE JESSUP. A paper read before the Chicago Literary Club, April 10, 1916. Chicago Literary Club, 1916.

15 p. 8°.

Printed in November, 1916, by the Marion Press, Jamaica, N.Y.

Edition: 1,000 copies, the larger part of which were for distribution among the members of the legislature and others to stimulate interest in the subject of state parks.



25. The last pagan. By JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON. Presidential address before the Chicago Literary Club, forty-third year, October 9, 1916. [*Motto.*] Chicago Literary Club, 1917.

[6], 92 p., 1 leaf.

An account of the finding of an anonymous medieval ms. in the library of the bishop of Montpellier, containing a Latin poem: "D[e] V[era] R[eligione]; with a poetical translation in the verse-form of Fitzgerald's Omar, and notes.

The translation. P. 41-61.

"Notes." P. 65-92.

Printed in June, 1917, at the Marion Press, Jamaica, N.Y.

Edition: 310 copies.

26. The work of Tagore. By EDWIN HERBERT LEWIS. Chicago Literary Club, 1917.

[4], 16 p., 1 leaf.

Read before the Club, January 15, 1917.

Printed in June, 1917, at the Marion Press, Jamaica, N.Y.

Edition: 275 copies.

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### *Exhibition Catalogues*

Catalogue of expressionist pictures, by members of the Chicago Literary Club, exposed in the club rooms, Monday evening, February 28, 1898, and not to be spoken of elsewhere lest the dignity of the Club be derogated.

39 p. 8°.

Comments by members of the Club, but not by those to whom the various items are ascribed.

Printed by Rogers & Smith Co., Chicago.

Essays in aesthetic culture. Read before the Chicago Literary Club during the season of 1900-1901. Approximately appreciated Monday evening, April 29, 1901.

[48] p. 8°.

An illustrated catalogue of an exhibition of burlesque pictures by members of the Club.

Comments by members of the Club, but not by those to whom the various items are ascribed.

Printed by Rogers & Smith Co., Chicago.

***Memorials of Deceased Members***

1. Chicago Literary Club. In memoriam HENRY THORNTON STEELE, died November 10, 1890.

11, [1] p.

By James L. High, William F. Poole, Edwin Burritt Smith, Committee.  
Read before the Club, February 16, 1891.

2. Chicago Literary Club. In memoriam EDWIN HOLMES SHELDON, died December 18, 1890.

8 p.

By E. B. McCagg, J. S. Norton, Committee.  
Read before the Club, February 16, 1891.

3. Chicago Literary Club. In memoriam HENRY FIELD, died November 10, 1890.

7 p.

By Clarence A. Burley, Franklin MacVeagh, Walter C. Larned, Committee.  
Read before the Club, February 16, 1891.

4. Chicago Literary Club. In memoriam JOHN WELLBORN ROOT, died January 15, 1891.

6 p.

By Bryan Lathrop, William L. B. Jenney, Irving K. Pond, Committee.  
Read before the Club, February 16, 1891.

5. Chicago Literary Club. In memoriam SAMUEL BLISS, died March 18, 1891.

7 p.

By George Howland, Robert J. Hendricks, Franklin MacVeagh, Committee.  
Read before the Club, May 4, 1891.

6. Chicago Literary Club. In memoriam WILLIAM EMERSON STRONG, born August 10, 1840, died April 10, 1891.

7, [1] p.

By Huntington W. Jackson, George K. Dauchy, James Nevins Hyde, Committee.  
Read before the Club, May 18, 1891.

7. Chicago Literary Club. In memoriam HOSMER A. JOHNSON, died February 26, 1891.

8 p.

By David Swing, Ezra B. McCagg, Norman Williams, Committee.

Read before the Club, June 8, 1891.

8. Chicago Literary Club. In memoriam THOMAS FOSTER WITHROW, died February 3, 1893.

8, [1] p.

By Joseph B. Leake, Frank Gilbert, William Eliot Furness, Committee.

Read before the Club, February 20, 1893.

9. Chicago Literary Club. In memoriam GEORGE HOWLAND, died October 24, 1892.

15, [1] p.

By William F. Poole, Daniel L. Shorey, Edward G. Mason, Committee.

Read before the Club, October 16, 1893.

10. Chicago Literary Club. In memoriam CHARLES GILMAN SMITH, died January 10, 1894.

8, [1] p.

By Daniel L. Shorey, Samuel S. Greeley, Emilius C. Dudley, Clarence A. Burley, Committee.

Read before the Club, January 22, 1894.

11. In memoriam WILLIAM FREDERICK POOLE, born December 24, 1821, died March 1, 1894. Chicago Literary Club, 1894. 42 p., portrait.

Appendix: "List of works by William Frederick Poole," by F. W. Gookin. P. 29-42.

By Daniel L. Shorey, Edward G. Mason, James L. High, William Eliot Furness, John G. Shortall, Committee.

Read before the Club, May 21, 1894.

12. In memoriam JOSEPH KIRKLAND, born January 7, 1830, died April 29, 1894. Chicago Literary Club, 1894.

8 p.

By David Swing, William Eliot Furness, Joseph L. Silsbee, Alexander A. McCormick, John G. Shortall, Committee.

Read before the Club, May 28, 1894.

13. In memoriam DAVID SWING, born August 31, 1830, died October 3, 1894. Chicago Literary Club, 1894.

19, [1] p.

By Franklin H. Head, Abram M. Pence, John H. Barrows, Committee.

Read before the Club, October 29, 1894.

14. In memoriam ARTHUR BROOKS, born July 11, 1845, died July 10, 1895. Chicago Literary Club, 1895.

34 p.

By Daniel Goodwin, Charles F. Bradley, William W. K. Nixon, Committee.

Read before the Club, December 16, 1895.

15. In memoriam WILLIAM ADAM MONTGOMERY, born June 21, 1838, died August 21, 1895. Chicago Literary Club, 1895.

8 p.

By David Fales, Daniel Goodwin, Walter M. Howland, Committee.

Read before the Club, May 4, 1896.

16. In memoriam PORTER PUFFER HEYWOOD, born July 30, 1828, died April 28, 1896. Chicago Literary Club, 1896.

7 p.

By William Eliot Furness, George L. Paddock, Benjamin R. Bulkeley, Committee.

Read before the Club, May 18, 1896.

17. THOMAS HUGHES of England and his visits to Chicago in 1870 and 1880. By DANIEL GOODWIN. Chicago Literary Club, 1896.

58 p.

On cover: "Chicago Literary Club. In memoriam—Thomas Hughes."  
Read before the Club, June 8, 1896.

Printed at the Press of Rogers & Smith Co., Chicago.

Appendix A: From the *Chicago Tribune*, July 23, 1873: [A note on the books sent to Chicago after the fire of 1871, for its Free Library, as "direct gift of English authors, publishers, colleges, societies, and the government," or purchased with the fund raised at the instance of Thomas Hughes.]

Appendix B: List of members and guests present at the dinner given to Thomas Hughes, October 8, 1880, by the Chicago Literary Club.



18. In memoriam JAMES SAGER NORTON. Chicago Literary Club, 1897.

12 p., portrait.

By Edward G. Mason, Joseph B. Leake, Clarence A. Burley, Committee.

Read before the Club, March 22, 1897.

19. In memoriam HENRY BALDWIN STONE, born September 4, 1851, died July 5, 1897. Chicago Literary Club, 1898.

25 p., portrait.

By William W. Fenn.

Read before the Club, April 4, 1898.

20. In memoriam GEORGE WASHINGTON SMITH, born January 8, 1837, died September 16, 1898. Chicago Literary Club, 1899.

18 p., portrait.

Alexander C. McClurg, Norman Williams, George L. Paddock, William Eliot Furness, Murry Nelson, Jr., Committee.

Read before the Club, January 16, 1899.

21. In memoriam CHARLES WILDER DAVIS, born October 11, 1833, died December 15, 1898. Chicago Literary Club, 1899.

13 p., portrait.

By Arba N. Waterman, George K. Dauchy, Mason Bross, Committee.

Read before the Club, March 29, 1899.

22. In memoriam LEWIS HENRY BOUTELL, born July 21, 1826, died January 16, 1899. Chicago Literary Club, 1899.

15 p., portrait.

By Charles F. Bradley, Arba N. Waterman, Ephraim A. Otis, Committee.

Read before the Club, May 15, 1899.

23. In memoriam DANIEL LEWIS SHOREY, born January 31, 1824, died March 4, 1899. Chicago Literary Club, 1899.

24 p., portrait.

By William Morton Payne, William W. Fenn, Henry V. Freeman, Committee.

Read before the Club, May 29, 1899.

24. In memoriam JAMES LAMBERT HIGH, born October 6, 1844, died October 3, 1898. Chicago Literary Club, 1899.

61 p., portrait.

By Henry S. Boutell, George A. Follansbee, Henry V. Freeman, Huntington W. Jackson, Edwin Burritt Smith, Committee.

Read before the Club, May 29, 1899.

25. In memoriam HUNTINGTON WOLCOTT JACKSON, born January 28, 1841, died January 3, 1901. Chicago Literary Club, 1901.

23 p., 1 portrait.

By David B. Lyman, William Eliot Furness, Arthur D. Wheeler, Committee.

Read before the Club, May 27, 1901.

26. In memoriam HENRY ALONZO HUNTINGTON, born March 23, 1840, died July 29, 1907. Chicago Literary Club, 1908.

11 p., portrait.

By Clarence A. Burley and Edward O. Brown, Committee.

Read before the Club, May 4, 1908.

27. In memoriam ROBERT COLLYER, first president of the Chicago Literary Club, born December 8, 1823, died December 1, 1912. Chicago Literary Club, 1913.

13, [2] p., portrait.

By Samuel S. Greeley, William Eliot Furness, Edward O. Brown, Charles Edward Cheney, Committee.

Read before the Club, January 27, 1913.

Printed by the Publishers' Press, Chicago.

### ***Constitution and By-Laws***

1. Constitution of Chicago Literary Club. *n.d.*

8 p. 16mo.

2. The constitution of the Chicago Literary Club, adopted March 6, 1876. With a list of the officers, committees, and members. Published by the Chicago Literary Club, 1876.

11 p. 16mo.

Printed by Hazlitt & Reed.

3. Constitution of the Chicago Literary Club, adopted March 6, 1876. With list of officers and schemes of exercises from date of organization, April 21, 1874, and present roll of members. Chicago: Fergus Printing Co., 1879.

29 p. 12°.

4. Constitution of the Chicago Literary Club, revised January 28, 1884. With list of officers, schemes of exercises, from date of organization, April 21, 1874; and present roll of members, April 1, 1884. Chicago: Fergus Printing Co., 1884.

54 p. 16mo.

5. By-laws of the Chicago Literary Club. Adopted March 28, 1887.

15 p. 16mo.

6. Chicago Literary Club Library. Lists of books and periodicals. December 1, 1907.

24 p. 8°.

### *Annals*

Chicago Literary Club. [List of members and scheme of exercises.] 1874-1875/1894-1895.

21 leaflets or pamphlets.

1883/1894-1895 with covers, title-pages, and ornaments designed by F. W. Gookin.

1876 printed by Hazlitt & Reed, Chicago; 1877/1884, by Fergus Printing Co., Chicago; 1893-1894/1894-1895, at the De Vinne Press, New York.

"The issues for the first three years were merely leaflets giving lists of officers, committees, and members, and the schemes of exercises. For 1876-1877 an eight-page pamphlet was issued. The number of pages increased from year to year and in 1884 a somewhat larger format was adopted. The first book of the series in the present format was that for 1892-1893." In 1895 the publication was given the title Yearbook.

Chicago Literary Club. Yearbook for 1895-1896/1916-1917.

22 issues.

With covers, title-pages, headbands and tailpieces designed by F. W. Gookin, and printed in colors.

1895-1896/1897-1898 printed at the De Vinne Press, New York; 1898-1899/1916-1917 at the Marion Press, Jamaica, N.Y.

Each issue contains, in addition to the items in the previous series, the "Regulations for selecting and printing papers read before the Club." From 1900-1901 on are added "Officers from the foundation of the Club, March 13, 1874," and "Members deceased."

The issues for 1915-1916 and 1916-1917 contain list of "Publications of the Chicago Literary Club."

Beginning with the issue for 1914-1915, memorial biographies are printed in the yearbooks, as follows:

1914-1915: In memoriam ELIPHALET WICKES BLATCHFORD—ALBERT GEORGE FARR—WILLIAM MERCHANT RICHARDSON FRENCH—WILLIAM ELIOT FURNESS—JOHN COWLES GRANT—FRANKLIN HARVEY HEAD—JOSEPH BLOOMFIELD LEAKE—DAVID BRAINERD LYMAN—JOHN WILLIAMS MACGEAGH—JOSIAH LITTLE PICKARD.

1915-1916: In memoriam WALTER CRANSTON LARNED—ARTHUR LITTLE—HARTWELL OSBORN—ALBERT ARNOLD SPRAGUE.

1916-1917: In memoriam HENRY VARNUM FREEMAN—SAMUEL SEWALL GREELEY—JOHN JACOB HERRICK—BRYAN LATHROP—RAYMOND ST. JAMES PERRIN—HORATIO LOOMIS WAIT.



## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA LOUISVILLE MEETING

### PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

NOW that the Bibliographical Society of America has arrived at the dignity of holding its twenty-fifth meeting, it would hardly seem appropriate to let it occur without noting the past of American bibliography and looking somewhat into its future. Few of us to whom the publications of our Society come regularly realize more than those upon whom has fallen the responsibility of their preparation the great debt we all owe to our editor, Mr. Aksel G. S. Josephson, whose zeal and untiring labors are exemplified in them. No one, I am sure, who has had to do work of a similar nature will fail to be generous in his criticisms. An examination of our *Papers*, as issued in quarterly numbers, shows that enough matter of American interest has been produced to justify the name we bear.

American bibliography has numbered, and still numbers, among its devotees many distinguished names. Of those whose labors have ceased are Harrisse, Sabin, Hildeburn, Winsor, Leyboldt, Littlefield, Livingston, and Paul Leicester Ford. The mere mention of these at once calls to mind the works with which their names will ever be intimately associated. We still have with us, as our Nestor, Doctor Samuel A. Green, of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Worthington C. Ford, Wilberforce

- Eames, and Charles Evans, to name only a few of those whose works occupy prominent places on the shelves of every well-appointed collection of Americana. Notwithstanding what has already been accomplished, much still remains to be done to bring the bibliography of the history, literature, and typographical activities of our country to a reasonable degree of completion, if, indeed, the bibliography of any subject can ever be said to reach that state.

In looking over the publications of the English Bibliographical Society, one cannot fail to observe what appears to be a pretty well-defined policy of restricting its publications, in the main, to the output of the English printing press, and of English literature down to the close of the year 1640. From personal experience I have found that no student of that period can do effective and thorough work without constant reference to its numerous publications.

There can be no doubt that our own Society would greatly increase its usefulness and popularity by encouraging, in every way, works of a similar character relating to the products of the American press and of the literature, history, and writings of our early authors down to, and including, the year 1800. Such a limitation, however, is not intended to prevent work of a like nature by those whose interests relate to nineteenth-century subjects.

Sabin (particularly in the later volumes of his great work edited by Mr. Eames) and Evans have made a magnificent beginning, but it can readily be seen that their

undertakings have been projected on too extensive a scale, and that the amount of material to be worked over has been too immense to permit of their being able to include everything properly falling within the scope of their respective works. Invaluable as such works are, their very size and the labor and time involved in their preparation quite naturally tend to discourage others from undertaking such Herculean labors. Nor is it necessary that they should, for much desirable work of a more modest nature still remains to be done in compiling detailed bibliographies of individual authors, localities, local presses, etc., such, for example, as Livingston's *First Editions of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*, his *First Editions of James Russell Lowell*, Hildeburn's *Issues of the Pennsylvania Press, 1685-1784*, his *Catalogue of the Charlemagne Tower Collection of Colonial Laws*, and the recently issued work of Mr. Henry F. DePuy on *The English Colonial Treaties with the American Indians*.

The undertaking of works like these and of a similar character should be encouraged by this Society; and while as an organization, with its limited treasury and membership, it cannot attempt to publish such works, it may greatly aid such work by its prestige, by timely recommendations, and as a matter of policy it should encourage and foster labor in these fields. A restriction in the programs of our meetings to papers on the subjects outlined above would, we believe, tend more and more to interest not only our own members, but also outsiders, and thus aid in the growth and influence of our Society.



The success of any society depends, in no small degree, upon the number and enthusiasm of its officers and members. What has already been accomplished by this Society has been done with less than two hundred members. With such limitations the wonder is, not that we have not done more, but that we have done as much and as well as we have. Were our membership increased two or three fold, we could not only do more effective work because of the enthusiasm resulting from the association of a greater number interested in a common cause, but we could give our members much more proportionally; since, with the added amount in our treasury, we could greatly increase our output without a corresponding increase in our expenses. As is well known, the principal cost in printing arises in getting matter into type. Once set up and on the press, the additional charge for copies is comparatively trifling, being only that required for the extra paper, presswork, and binding.

Every author has, or believes he has, a message to impart to mankind. In reality it may be only a call for the drop of dollars into his own pockets. It is the province of bibliography to investigate his claims to consideration. Every book has in it a kernel of truth, some thought that actuated its author in its production. It is for bibliography to discover how much value shall be attached to it. Every book is a unit in a series, longer or shorter, pertaining to its particular subject. It is for bibliography to determine whether a book contains new or original matter of value, or whether it is a mere compila-



tion of information or knowledge already in existence, and, perhaps expressed in better form in other and earlier works; whether it is the work of an earnest student of the subject, or merely a gleaning from the works of others—in other words “hack work.” Every book is one of a series upon the subject of which it treats, for there is nothing new under the sun, and it is for bibliography to determine whether it is an essential link in the evolution and history of the subject to which it belongs.

Viewed in this light, bibliography, combining in harmonious proportions accurate and detailed bibliographical descriptions, with judicious literary criticisms and pertinent bibliographical matter, is equally the handmaid of the librarian and of the literary student. The custodian of books, the librarian, above all, should be so well informed that, with such aids, he can at once recommend to any applicant the best book on his particular subject. Every student should be able to find in such authoritative bibliographies the best sources to be employed in the pursuit of his studies. Bibliography in this sense is truly the golden master-key that unlocks the varied chambers of the great storehouse of universal knowledge.

It is to be feared that neither librarians nor scholars are yet sufficiently awake to the value of such bibliographies as aids in successfully carrying out their cherished aims. To infuse this idea is alike the privilege and duty of this and kindred societies, and we should stand like heralds on the summits and proclaim, in season and out of season, the importance of bibliography as an essential aid to all inter-

ested in the study or perusal of books. Nor should this appeal be restricted alone to individuals. It should be extended to every organization having for its object the aid and advancement of scholars in the pursuit of knowledge. The American Library Institute and the American Library Association, with the one or other of which nearly all of the members of this Society are closely allied, should be made to realize the importance of this appeal. It is not enough that the names of the institutions to which they severally belong are on our list of members. Their presence there is, indeed, highly desirable, and we could ill afford to spare them. But we need more and more the aid, interest, and support of every person connected with them. Every university librarian, every reference librarian, everyone, in fact, whose duties bring him in contact with the public in our libraries should not only be conversant with existing bibliographies and know how to use them most effectively, but should have a lively and helpful interest in the aims of this Society to improve the standard and increase the output of bibliographical works, especially of those relating to this country. To all such we would emphatically say you have not fulfilled your duty to yourself nor to your constituencies until you have joined the Bibliographical Society of America.

## THE SHAKESPEARE TERCENTENARY

BY TUCKER BROOKE

A CYNIC with the gift of paradox might expatiate entertainingly on the folly of centenary observations of poets' deaths. Let us thus observe, he might say, the anniversaries of great battles, discoveries, or revolutions—material and specific landmarks of human progress—but why devote particular days or years to the praise of those who truly are not of an age but for all time? and why memorialize that which is least memorable about them—the accident of mortal dissolution?

The Shakespeare celebrations of 1916 have furnished two good answers to such doubts. In the first place, though the poet is for all time, it is not to be expected that he will at all times equally reach the minds of all the people. The rather silly jubilee at Stratford, devised by Garrick in 1769, produced real results in the way of increased appreciation of Shakespeare; and the widespread celebrations of 1916 must likewise have left permanent traces. Not in every year or every decade could such an exhibition of Shakespeareana have been got together as that displayed last summer in the New York Public Library, or such a stream of visitors drawn to see it. If the tangible result upon the majority of these thousands was no more than what has been modestly claimed for the universal study of Latin and Greek at



Eton—a fervent personal conviction of the existence of the matter in question—the exhibition would be well worth all the pains it cost.

And if a very large proportion of the educated public can at any time be awakened to active interest in a poet only by some adventitious reminder, there are also times when even his most devoted followers are likely to grow forgetful. Such was the year 1916. The editors of the splendid Oxford volumes on *Shakespeare's England* explain that the appearance of the book in the middle of the great war was an accident. Anglo-Saxons must have thought it a most happy accident that the claims of the great reconciler and of permanent life values should be so monumentally vindicated in a time otherwise given over to drum and cymbal's din. So, again, for those who can echo Tom Campbell and

. . . . love contemplating—apart  
From all *her* homicidal glory,  
The traits that soften to our heart  
*Germania's* story,

the last *Jahrbuch* of the German Shakespeare Society, containing Gerhart Hauptmann's address, "Deutschland und Shakespeare," has offered much needed comfort.

The large amount of valuable published matter inspired by the Shakespeare Tercentenary can be most readily reviewed by distinguishing between those works which are mainly bibliographical in their interest and those of a predominantly literary or historical importance. In the first group belong, of course, the printed catalogues of



the excellent Shakespearean exhibitions held in various libraries. England is thus represented by the illustrated catalogues published by the Bodleian and by the John Rylands Library of Manchester, the former a model for beauty of form. For the exhibition of Mr. Marsden J. Perry's collection at Newport, Rhode Island, in June and July, 1916, Mr. George Parker Winship wrote a charming descriptive commentary: *The Redwood Library Guide to an Appreciation of Wm. Shakespeare His Works and Fame*. The particular gems of the Perry collection are one of the two known copies of the earliest edition of the second part of *Henry VI* (*The First Part of the Contention*, etc., 1594) and the famous Edward Gwynn copy of the nine Shakespearean and pseudo-Shakespearean plays issued by Pavier and Jaggard in 1619—the only copy in which these plays are still bound together.

The exhibition at the New York Public Library, April 2–July 15, 1916, was naturally on a larger scale and drew from various sources. Miss Henrietta C. Bartlett prepared an excellent catalogue<sup>1</sup> in which the various items are arranged in five classes: "Shakespeare's Works," "Spurious Plays," "Adaptations of Shakespeare's Plays," "Source Books," and "Allusions to Shakespeare in Contemporary Literature." The bibliographical description of each book is supplemented by anecdotal and critical comment, which makes the work

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<sup>1</sup> *Catalogue of the Exhibition of Shakespeareana held at the New York Public Library, April 2 to July 15, 1916, in Commemoration of the Tercentenary of Shakespeare's Death, 1917.*

hardly less entertaining than informative. The only defect of which the future user of this catalogue is at all likely to complain is the failure to give any hint regarding the present ownership of the works catalogued. Undoubtedly the silence on this point is intentional, and it is easy to imagine a number of good reasons against discriminating between the different owners. The largest contributors appear to have been the Lenox collection of the New York Public Library, Mr. H. E. Huntington, and Mr. W. A. White. The Library officials, of course, must have full information on record, and it is to be hoped that no student will find serious difficulty in tracing any of the volumes catalogued now that they have been restored to their owners.

In her Introduction Miss Bartlett calls attention to the difference now prevailing in conditions of ownership and accessibility between the rare Shakespeareana in England and in America. In number they are at present very nicely balanced between the two countries; but, whereas in England most of them have at last found permanent resting-places in great public libraries, such as the British Museum, the Bodleian, and Trinity College, Cambridge, in the United States a large proportion still belong to private citizens. From the point of view of the humble person who may desire to use such treasures, there are advantages each way. The public institution is undoubtedly the safest conservator and usually the most easily accessible. It is generally better catalogued, and its catalogues have more permanence and

broader distribution. On the other hand, the tradition of generosity established by the great English private libraries—now, with the notable exception of the Earl of Ellesmere's, largely dispersed<sup>1</sup>—has been so nobly continued by American owners like Mr. Huntington, Mr. Morgan, and Mr. White, that the serious scholar often finds actually greater opportunity and more helpful assistance as their guest than he can find in the average public institution. There is also, of course, a special charm about the private library, particularly when, like that at Bridgewater House, it has behind it a tradition of centuries; and it might even be questioned whether the great public libraries have done much more for the advancement of scholarship in the department of Elizabethan literature than have the houses of Devonshire and Ellesmere, Huth and Christie-Miller.

Miss Bartlett points out that the rule prohibiting the loan of rare books from one public library to another would make it impossible to assemble in England at present a composite collection equal to that exhibited at New York last summer. The point might be illustrated by the fact that the arrangers of the John Rylands exhibition were unable to set a single early Shakespearean quarto play by the side of their valuable collection of Folios and their rare editions of the Poems. It is true that the British Museum might have produced from its own unrivaled store an array of Shakespeareana only slightly

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<sup>1</sup> Since this was written Lord Ellesmere's library at Bridgewater House has been sold to Mr. Huntington and removed to New York.



less complete than that which Miss Bartlett describes, but it would hardly have had the special attractiveness that the New York exhibition gained from the fact that it was a co-operative community affair.

Two very important contributions to Shakespearean bibliography must be regarded as by-products of the American interest in the Tercentenary. In both Miss Bartlett had an honorable part. Her careful work with Mr. White's books disclosed the existence of a hitherto unknown (third) edition of *Richard II* (1598). With characteristic zeal and generosity Mr. White at once produced a reprint of this rare find,<sup>1</sup> to which Mr. A. W. Pollard added an important introduction, arguing that the text of the play was based in the first instance directly upon Shakespeare's manuscript.

The most ambitious of all the bibliographical publications of the year is the *Census of Shakespeare's Plays in Quarto*, 1594-1709, prepared under the auspices of the Elizabethan Club of Yale University by Miss Bartlett and Mr. Pollard.<sup>2</sup> Supplementing the *Census of Folios and Poems* by Sir Sidney Lee, the editors give a detailed list of the known copies (886 in all) of Shakespearean quartos published prior to Rowe's *Shakespeare* of 1709. The work has been done with the utmost care and on the basis of quite unexcelled bibliographical knowledge. It is hardly reckless to doubt whether the list will ever be very materially increased, unless by the discovery of now inaccessible treasures on the continent of Europe.

<sup>1</sup> Quaritch, 1916.

<sup>2</sup> Yale University Press, 1916.



It is interesting to observe that all the copies identified by the editors are now either in British or in American libraries.

Each copy listed in the *Census* is in general elaborately described as regards condition and ownership, past and present. The only important deficiencies occur in the case of books belonging to the late Lord Ninian Crichton Stuart and to Mr. H. C. Folger. Particular descriptions were unobtainable in the first instance owing to the owner's death in battle, October, 1915. The difficulty of access to Mr. Folger's books is well known to be quite insuperable. However, he has been good enough to furnish the editors with certain details regarding the invisible volumes, which, if not sufficiently complete to accord with the general plan of the book, yet very materially add to what was previously known of his extraordinary collection.

The Introduction to the *Census* is essentially the work of the British collaborator, Mr. Pollard, than whom, it is needless to say, no more competent authority lives. It is a monograph of over thirty close-filled pages, supplementary to the author's well-known work on *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos* (1909), and adding a large amount of most important material. No serious student, however scornful of bibliography—and the number of scorners is healthily waning—can safely overlook Mr. Pollard's discussion of the formation of the various great collections of quartos, the relation between the number of extant copies of early editions and the contemporary

popularity of the various plays, and the number of copies originally printed (ca. 1000-1200). Most important of all is the vindication of the intrinsic textual value of the eighteen "first" quartos (inclusive of the 1599 *Romeo and Juliet* and the 1604 *Hamlet*) as compared with later quartos and even with the Folio. All readers may not be disposed to accept Mr. Pollard's charitable assumption that Hemings and Condell, in sneering at the "stolen and surreptitious copies" which antedated their Folio, had in mind only the two (or possibly five) worst quartos, to which their words might fairly apply; but few will probably refuse to acknowledge that the words are quite unjust in reference to the generality of the quartos. Most persons who have collated early editions of Shakespeare will doubtless agree also with Mr. Pollard's daring conclusion that: "The modern editor has nothing to consider save the original readings of the First Quarto and the original readings, right or wrong, introduced by the Folio." This, coupled with our present knowledge—so largely due also to Mr. Pollard—which *were* the first quartos of *The Merchant of Venice*, *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, *King Lear*, and *Henry V*, greatly clarifies the whole textual problem.

The more literary study of Shakespeare has been no less advanced by publications of the tercentenary year. First mention is due to *Shakespeare's England*, in two gorgeous volumes from the Oxford Press. This is followed at a distance by *A Book of Homage to Shakespeare* from the same press. The latter is a "scrapbook," com-

prising a great number of brief Shakespearean notes by scholars of many lands. *Shakespeare's England* consists of thirty extended essays, all of British authorship, designed to cover the whole range of sixteenth-century English life. Dr. McKerrow's paper on "Booksellers, Printers, and the Stationers' Trade" may be particularly noted as doubtless the best general introduction to the problems of Elizabethan bibliography yet produced. Another of the essays, that on "Handwriting" by Sir E. Maunde Thompson of the British Museum, has already borne further fruit in a separate monograph by the same distinguished authority on *Shakespeare's Handwriting* (Oxford, 1916). The arguments here marshaled to prove that three inserted folios in the manuscript play of *Sir Thomas More* are written in Shakespeare's hand go near to making a certainty of what has hitherto been only an interesting possibility. Additional evidence in the same direction has still more recently been offered by Mr. Percy Simpson in *The Library* (January, 1917).

A useful volume, which, like *Shakespeare's England*, owed to accident its appearance in the tercentenary year, is the translation of a portion of Creizenach's *Geschichte des neueren Dramas, Band IV*, published in London and Philadelphia under the title, *The English Drama in the Age of Shakespeare*. This was almost ready in August, 1914, when the war interrupted its progress. It now appears with a graceful dedication by the English publishers "To the Memory of their Friend and Fellow-Worker, Alfred Schuster, Lieutenant, 4th Hussars (Killed



in Flanders, Nov. 20, 1914)." The translation is well done and should be of considerable use, though the omission of Creizenach's long ninth book, containing most of his formal criticism of the plays treated, will make it impossible to employ it as a full substitute for the original.

A number of important American books on Shakespeare appeared in 1916. Two of the most valuable are *Shakespeare's Theater* by Professor A. H. Thorndike of Columbia (Macmillan) and Professor R. M. Alden's variorum edition of the *Sonnets* (Houghton Mifflin). The former gives in some five hundred pages a very compendious summary of what is known concerning theatrical affairs during the reigns of Elizabeth and James, with special reference to two thorny subjects—the history of the various companies of players and the principles of stage presentation. Professor Alden provides students of Shakespeare's *Sonnets* with what has long been a positive necessity—a complete and reliable compilation of all the important criticism called forth by the most doubt-provoking and bitterly argued of Shakespearean problems.

Two American universities, Columbia and Wisconsin, published important tercentenary volumes of Shakespearean criticism. The latter is the handsomer in appearance, the former the larger book by a ratio of eighteen to twelve essays. They are further distinguished in that the Columbia contributors have restricted themselves to discussion of aspects of Shakespeare's work, while the Wisconsin critics in some instances go farther afield and treat questions of general Elizabethan interest. Each



book offers a distinct addition to knowledge; both naturally contain also matter of an appreciative rather than scientific value. The latter type of article is certainly not less necessary or less suited to the tercentenary occasion. An excellent example is the essay on "The Restoration of Shakspeare's Personality" by Professor Brewster, of Columbia. It is quite possible that it would not have occurred to the writer to undertake this acute and judicial review of the constantly changing estimates of the man Shakespeare from the days of the earliest romanticists to the present decade had not his colleagues' desire to commemorate the tercentenary turned his thoughts in that direction. The result is a work of exceptional value to all real students of the poet. Of similar nature are Professor Cunliffe's discussion of the character of Henry V as interpreted by many varying critics, that of Professor Brander Matthews on "Shaksperian Stage Traditions," and, in the Wisconsin volume, the papers on "Some Principles of Shakespeare Staging" (T. H. Dickinson), "Joseph Ritson and Some Eighteenth-Century Editors of Shakespeare" (H. A. Burd), and "Charles Lamb and Shakespeare" (F. W. Roe).

Other American universities have offered such various homage to the occasion that particular mention may appear invidious. If it be permissible for this writer to specify some from which he has profited, he would name Professor Kittredge's Harvard lecture (Harvard University Press); Professor Neilson's paper on "Shakespeare and Religion," delivered at Yale; the particularly

charming jubilee at Brown University, enhanced by a series of lectures by Professor Potter, by an exhibition of Mr. Perry's books, attended with much gracious hospitality to stranger guests, and, finally, by an admirable address of Dr. Woodberry, given in Sayles Hall, April 26, and published by the Woodberry Society; and the unique celebration at the University of Chicago (February 25, 1916), "illustrating the chief types of drama before Shakspeare," the handsome program of which contains important material relating to the four pieces performed. The University of North Carolina devoted the April, 1916, issue of its *Studies in Philology* to Shakespearean subjects and has repeated the tribute even more ambitiously in the corresponding number of the 1917 volume. Yale University found inspiration in the Tercentenary for a new teaching edition of the poet (*The Yale Shakespeare*, Yale University Press), of which the completion will require several years.

The pleasing but parlous ambition to render dramatic tribute to the dramatist flourished most beyond academic walls. The best of several playlets of the year is doubtless *Master Will of Stratford* (Macmillan) by Mrs. Louise Ayres Garnett, a Shakespearean night's entertainment, offering an agreeable view of the boy and his mother and a black picture of Sir Thomas Lucy in the year of grace, 1575.

Upon one point the Tercentenary has not brought agreement—the spelling of the poet's name. It is still Shakspeare at Chicago and Columbia, Shakespeare at

Wisconsin and elsewhere. Many a more important problem, however, has been driven far toward solution; and it will be only the staunchest and mossiest of professors whose Shakespeare lectures of yesteryear will not suffer considerable alteration in 1917.

## DE BRY AND THE *Index Expurgatorius*

BY CHESTER M. CATE

THERE are few books which make a more varied appeal to our interest than De Bry's "Voyages." The work, which probably owed its inception to the influence of Hakluyt, was begun by the Dutch engraver Theodore De Bry (*b.* 1528, *d.* 1598). It seems to have been his intention to form a collection of voyages and to accompany each volume with plates illustrating the character of the countries described in the text and the manners and customs of their inhabitants. The first volume to be so produced was Hariot's *Virginia*, in 1590, and the long series of works similarly issued by De Bry and after his death continued by his widow and sons Johann Theodore and Johann Israel is too well known to need comment here.

The first interest of these books lies without question in the illustrations. The curious nature of these plates and the skill with which they were executed combine to give them the reputation which they have acquired.

Of rather unequal interest are the texts which these engravings illustrate. Many of the voyages published by the De Bry's had appeared previously in printed form and in several instances where there were already extant several editions of a given book the De Bry's selected an inferior one for their purpose. In other instances they altered or abridged the works which they reprinted, so that their versions are quite distorted from the originals.



Bibliographically considered, De Bry's "Voyages," in the state in which they have come down to us, are most perplexing. During the long period in which they appeared (1590-1634) many volumes were reissued, some even a second time; old sheets and plates were mixed with new; new editions appeared with old plates; plates were worn out and recut, sometimes with alterations; and new dedications appeared in the progress of time. In short, the process of determining at this day just what constitutes in a given volume a given edition, issue, or reissue is well calculated to try the patience of even a bibliographical Job. Several bibliographers have produced monographs on this subject, but their works are mainly useful in checking variants and in giving us a knowledge of the "make-up" of various copies.

Among the books purchased by the Huntington Library during the current year was the set of De Bry's "Voyages," formerly a part of the library at Britwell belonging to Mr. Christie-Miller. In the collation of the Britwell-Huntington set of De Bry a discovery was made which adds something to the interest of the work as a whole and much to the prestige of the copy in hand. The discovery was that the first eight volumes of the *Oriental India* were condemned in part by the Church and placed on the *Index Expurgatorius*. On the back of the title-page of volume one appears a manuscript statement in a contemporary hand, stating that the first ten of these volumes have been corrected to conform to the *Index Expurgatorius* of 1612, and this statement is followed by another in a later hand,

stating that the volumes also conform to the *Index* of 1632. An examination of the indexes of these dates shows under the heading of "India Orientalis" entries covering several pages and locating over forty offensive passages in which excisions are indicated. From the nature of the manuscript notes in the Huntington copy and from the thoroughness with which the passages mentioned in the *Index* have been obliterated, it may well be that these were the "official" copies used by the Spanish censor at Seville.

To attempt here any history of the development of the *Index Expurgatorius* would be absurd and unpardonable, yet a hurried summary may not be altogether out of place. The censorship of books, broadly speaking, goes far back of the time of the invention of the press. In the early centuries of the Christian era the works of heretics were many times condemned by the Councils and publicly burned. The earliest-known instance of an index of proscribed books published by the authority of Rome is that issued by Pope Gelasius in the year 494. This list was subsequently added to and reissued, and from time to time various decrees were given out and other measures adopted by the church to suppress the circulation of suspected books. The invention of printing and the consequent increase in the production of books greatly increased the difficulties of censorship, but it was not until 1547 that the first Roman index, in the common acceptance of the term, made its appearance. This index, prepared by the University of Louvain and published by direction of the

Spanish Inquisition, was completed in 1551 and several later editions were published. By the beginning of the seventeenth century the printed index was a perfected institution. The early indexes divided their subject-matter into three classes—namely, authors condemned, with all their writings; authors some of whose books only were forbidden; and books which might be read after certain passages had been deleted. It is in this last class that we find in the *Index* of 1612 listed the *Oriental India* of De Bry.

The reason why these particular volumes were suspected more than others in the De Bry collections is not difficult to find. With the exception of Volume I, which is uncensored, all of these works have a Dutch, and consequently a Protestant, origin. The passages excised are, in common with most of the excisions in the early indexes, often of a theological nature, but the character of the works as a whole is such that many of the passages objected to involve more interesting questions than those of mere abstract doctrine. The hardy Dutch adventurers, as strong in faith as they were courageous in daring, were never loth to appeal to God for deliverance from danger and hardship, to ask his blessing on their undertakings, or to give thanks for victories and successes, in whose consummation they invariably saw the hand of God. Wherever in these narratives divine intervention is given as the cause of Dutch victories or of reverses to the Spaniards or Portuguese, the passage is invariably made quite illegible. The most frequent strictures are those

made on passages which treat of the activities of the Jesuits in India and elsewhere. In more than one instance stories are told in which the Jesuits are represented as mercenary, underhanded in their dealings, and consistently furthering their own ends rather than the advancement of Christianity. Other passages which have been deleted tell of conversions made by the Dutch among the native inhabitants of the Spice Islands, others of religious services commemorative of some special exploit, and yet others of atrocities perpetrated by the Portuguese in their efforts to maintain a commercial supremacy. So varied and so diversified are these censored passages that the subject has seemed to the writer of sufficient interest to warrant a short article in which each section deleted could be given separately, accompanied by a translation and a brief comment. He hopes to be able to prepare such a paper in the near future.



## MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA, AT LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY, JUNE 22, 1917

The meeting was called to order by the President, George Watson Cole, after which he gave his annual presidential address. Following this, a paper on "Some Bibliographically Important Lutherana," by Rev. L. Franklin Gruber, was read by title.

The "Shakespeare Tercentenary," by Professor Tucker Brooke, was read by George Parker Winship in the absence of Professor Brooke.

"De Bry and the Index Expurgatorius," by Chester M. Cate, was read by H. M. Lydenberg in the absence of Mr. Cate.

Then followed the usual reports:

1. Treasurer's Report by Frederick W. Faxon, which is appended to this report.

2. The Report of the Trustee of the Fund for the Census of Incunabula by Mr. Cole, which is also appended.

3. Mr. Winship reported on the progress of the Census of Incunabula, showing that the work had been finished to the letter K.

4. Dr. Putnam for the Committee on Postal Rates for the *Papers* reported that in view of the changes which would have to be made in the form of the *Papers* and the method of publishing them, and in view of the fact that so little, less than \$20.00, would be saved by the change, it is not worth while to make the changes in order to receive the second-class postal rates.

5. The Committee on Nominations through Dr. Putnam reported as follows:

*President:* George Watson Cole.

*First Vice-President:* H. H. B. Meyer.

*Secretary:* Henry O. Severance.

*Treasurer:* Frederick W. Faxon.

*Editor:* Aksel G. S. Josephson.

*Councilor* (term expires 1921): Ernest C. Richardson.

The Secretary was instructed to cast the ballot for these officers for the Society, which he did, and they were elected.

Mr. Faxon stated that the paid membership has reached 190. Thirty-six new members have been added during the year. The Secretary during the year circularized all libraries in the United States, the collections in which numbered 40,000 volumes or more. The librarians of the large libraries were asked to enrol their libraries as members.

Adjourned.

GEORGE WATSON COLE, *President*

HENRY O. SEVERANCE, *Secretary*

## TREASURER'S REPORT, JANUARY 1916 TO JUNE 1917

### RECEIPTS

Balance on hand December 31, 1915 . . . . .	\$ 127.05
1916 and 1917 (incomplete) membership dues . . . . .	1,027.44
Dues collected for 1915 and back years . . . . .	42.00
Sales of publications by University of Chicago Press, 1916 and 1917 (incomplete) . . . . .	44.29
Sales by Society direct . . . . .	113.95
Interest on bank balance . . . . .	5.10
Withdrawn from Life Membership Fund . . . . .	127.46
From Henry E. Huntington for Incunabula Catalogue . . . . .	250.00
Total . . . . .	\$1,737.29

### EXPENDITURES

Sundries—postage, express, stationery, programs, etc. . . . .	\$ 137.50
Preprints, reprints, etc. . . . .	67.49
<i>Papers</i> , Vol. X, Nos. 1-4, and mailing . . . . .	672.72
<i>Papers</i> , Vol. XI, Nos. 1-2 . . . . .	316.45
To G. W. Cole, treasurer special fund, Henry E. Huntington con- tribution for Incunabula Catalogue . . . . .	250.00
Northup's book advertising . . . . .	82.78
Balance in bank . . . . .	210.35
	\$1,737.29

## MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL

The Council met immediately after the adjournment of the Society.

The question of closing the fiscal year in June instead of December was discussed, but no change was made as the same difficulties would be encountered as now. The Treasurer stated that he would bring his report up to the date of the annual meeting every year.

It was decided to publish a memorial number of the *Papers* on Willard Fiske. The occasion for such a symposium was suggested by the appearance of Vol. X of *Icelandica*.

The subject of the disposition of the library of the Society was discussed. An offer to care for the collection, which is now in boxes in the Newberry Library, was made by Mr. Azariah S. Root, librarian of Oberlin College. This, however, was declined, as the Council concluded that the collection would be more useful if deposited in a library which is at the service of a library school.

The New York State Library was suggested, and Mr. J. I. Wyer, Jr., was consulted as to the desirability of this collection for the use of the New York Library School.

The motion was made by Mr. Winship and carried that the present library of the Society be transferred to the New York State Library School and that the New York State Library School be made a depository of the Society's collection on the following conditions:

1. That the collection become the permanent property of said library school, not to be kept separate, but to be catalogued and shelved as said library may determine.

2. That the books and pamphlets so deposited be made available to any member of the Society on loan, the borrowing member paying transportation both ways, and that single copies of any library or bibliographical publications of the New York State Library be available at any time without cost to the members of the Bibliographical Society.

3. That the New York State Library print annually a list of the material received through the Society, which may be sent to any or all members who request it—the binding and care of books and pamphlets to be left to the discretion of the Director of the State Library.

The following committees were appointed by the President:

*Finance:* William C. Lane, *chairman*; Frederick W. Faxon, and Carl B. Roden.

*Membership:* Frederick W. Faxon, *chairman*; Aksel G. S. Josephson, and Henry O. Severance.

*Program:* George Watson Cole, *chairman*; Clarence S. Brigham, and Henry O. Severance.

*Publication:* Carl B. Roden, *chairman*; Andrew Keogh, and Ernest C. Richardson.



## NOTES

The library of the Society has been deposited with the New York State Library School at Albany. Mr. Wyer, on behalf of the School, promises that the books now belonging to the Society and all received from it in the future shall be given the same care, in cataloguing, binding, shelving, and use, as the other books of similar character in the New York State Library. Members of the Society who wish to use these books can borrow them at any time for a reasonable period, paying the cost of transportation.

This arrangement seemed to the Council, at the Louisville meeting, to be the best of the various proposals which have been made from time to time in regard to the library. The books, which for a long time were stored in boxes, through the courtesy of the Newberry Library, are such as have been presented to the Society by authors, editors, and publishers. They include the books formerly belonging to the Bibliographical Society of Chicago. They have had no regular care, and no attention has hitherto been given to the accumulation of a bibliographical collection. There appears to be no reason to anticipate that the Society will have a settled headquarters where the collection could be maintained and made useful. Such a collection, in any of the larger centers, would inevitably duplicate, and probably not be as good as the bibliographical departments already established in the larger local libraries.

The books were offered to the school at Albany because that was recognized by those consulted to be the library school which, both by its longer career and the consistently high standard of work accomplished, was likely to retain the leading position among library training schools. Its students are required to do a considerable amount of bibliographical work, both in the way of acquainting themselves with the available resources for reference

work of a general character and by the compilation of bibliographies on special subjects. There is probably no place in this country where the Society's books are likely to be used more frequently or to serve more usefully the purposes for which the Society exists. From the graduates of the school at Albany the Society should expect to draw a large number of its future members.

Now that the library has an established home, it is hoped that members will contribute their own publications regularly and assist in securing the works of others which are pertinent to the collection. These should be addressed to LIBRARY OF THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA, *care* NEW YORK STATE LIBRARY SCHOOL, Albany, N.Y.

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*Fasciculus temporum in American libraries.*—My attention has been called to an omission in the list published in the April number of the *Papers*, in that credit was not given to the Annmary Brown Memorial for possessing a copy of the 1476 Conrad Winters edition, although this edition was listed in Mr. Pollard's catalogue of the collection. And the 1487 edition is, I am now told, in the Portsmouth Atheneum, not in the Boston Atheneum. As a matter of fact, the list is not as complete as would have been the case had requested information regarding the matter been supplied in time. It was supplied after the article had been printed. This information, however, did not add any edition not already recorded as being in this country, nor did it add clue to any note on the invention of printing not already in my possession. A complete list of editions of the book in American libraries will be printed in the *Census of incunabula*.—A. G. S. Josephson.

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# The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America

VOLUME TWELVE

1918

CARL B. RODEN  
ANDREW KEOGH  
ERNEST C. RICHARDSON  
*Publication Committee*

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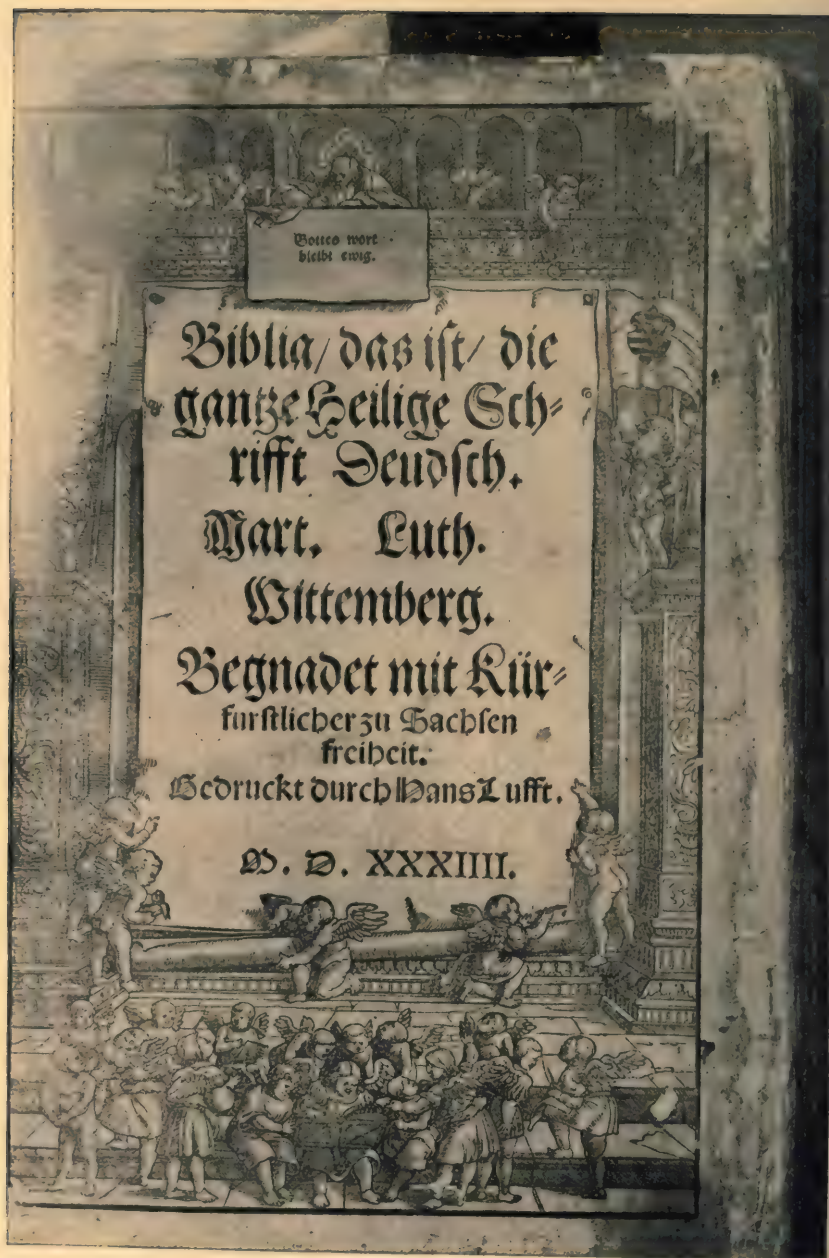


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JANUARY-APRIL, 1918

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## THE WITTENBERG ORIGINALS OF THE LUTHER BIBLE

BY L. FRANKLIN GRUBER

**D**URING this period which marks the quadricentennial of the beginning of the Protestant Reformation, special interest attaches to the documents of that great movement. And this is perhaps naturally more true from the Protestant, than from the Roman Catholic, point of view. However, although the items here noted must to some extent be considered in their historic setting, it is the aim of this paper to treat the subject in as purely objective a manner as possible.

It was during the months of Luther's voluntary exile at the Wartburg, after his appearance before the Diet of Worms (April 17 and 18, 1521), that he finally decided upon his great work of translating the Bible, although he had already translated select passages of various lengths, some as early as 1517. Fourteen editions (not different versions) of the Bible in High German, not to speak of several in Low German, had indeed already appeared, the first in 1466 and the fourteenth in 1518. But that old version had been made from the Latin Vulgate, while all these editions differed from one another, according to the fancies of editors and printers, and were full of errors. Accordingly, in December, 1521, Luther set to work upon his projected version from the original languages. Within three months the translation of the New

Testament was completed. And on March 6, 1522, he returned to Wittenberg to revise it and to make preparations for its publication. The completed volume issued from the press probably on September 21, the very day which he had set for its appearance about two weeks before. Hence this edition has often been spoken of as the "September Bible," although the term "Bible" is hardly proper for the New Testament alone. It is more appropriately called the "September Testament."

While the New Testament was passing through the press, work was begun on the Old Testament. In this Luther was to some extent assisted by other Wittenberg scholars. The Pentateuch appeared early in 1523; the second part (Joshua-Esther), in 1524 (not 1523, as is sometimes said); the third part (Job-Song of Solomon), in 1524; the Prophets (Isaiah-Malachi), in 1532; and the complete Bible (including the Apocrypha), in 1534. All these original Luther editions were printed in Wittenberg, appearing in folios of uniform size. These were followed by various other Wittenberg editions, while there were numerous reprints of them in other cities. Not to speak of select parts of the New Testament, one of these reprints appeared already in December, 1522, from the press of Adam Petri of Basel.

In addition to the *first* Wittenberg editions mentioned above, there are several others that should be included in such an account of the Wittenberg parts of the Luther Bible. These are the second or December (1522) edition of the New Testament, folio, often spoken of as the

"December Bible"; the revised third edition of 1524, folio; and the small octavo edition of 1530, very important as the one whose text was incorporated into the first edition (1534) of the complete Bible.

To a somewhat detailed consideration of the above-noted Wittenberg editions we shall now proceed.

**I. Das Neue Testament Deutsch, Wittenberg.** Without Luther's name. [September, 1522; printer, Melchior Lotther; publisher, probably Döring and Cranach]

Folio ( $12\frac{1}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$  inches, or  $31.1 \times 21.6$  cm.). First edition. Lines to the full page, 46 to 50 (recto of XLII., first part).

**Collation by signatures.**—4 preliminary leaves without signature-marks, except leaf three, which has the number 3 where the signature-mark would be due; A-T (no J) in sixes, except that L and S each have only four leaves and T has only three (indicating a missing blank leaf); A, six leaves; a-m (no j) in sixes; n, five (a blank apparently missing); aa, bb, in sixes; cc, dd, in fours; ee, six; total 220 leaves, or, with reported missing blank leaves, 222 leaves. The first three leaves of all signatures are signed; and of the signatures a-l the first four leaves are signed. Leaf B begins "auff deyn bette"; C, "was aber"; D, "Christus"; . . . T, "Agrippas aber"; b, "Was wollen"; n, "sind"; bb "Vnnd da"; . . . ee ij, "Vnd alle."

**Collation by pagination.**—4 preliminary leaves, unnumbered; I.-CVII.; 6 unnumbered leaves; I-LXXVII.; 26 unnumbered leaves; total 220 leaves, or with reported missing blank leaves, 222 leaves.

[title, *engraved*, with place of printing *printed* 3.2 cm. below the lowest engraved flourish], || *Das Neue Testa-* || *ment Deutsch-* || *Vuittemberg.* ||, recto of first unnumbered leaf; —[blank], verso of same;—|| *Vorrhede.* ||, recto of second unnumbered leaf;—[end of *Vorrhede*], || *wyssest.* ||, below middle of verso of third unnumbered leaf;—|| *wilchs die rechten vnd Edlisten* || *bucher des neuen*



*testa* || *ments sind.* ||, recto of fourth unnumbered leaf;—|| *Die Bucher des* || *newen testa* = || *ments.* ||, verso of fourth unnumbered leaf;—[heading and text of St. Matthew beginning], || *Euangelion Sanct Matthes.* || *Das erst Capitel.* || [D] Is ist . . . , folio I. (A)<sup>r</sup>;—|| *End des Euangelion* || *S. Iohannis.* ||, folio LXXXII. [O vi]<sup>v</sup>;—|| *Das ander teyll des Euangelii Sanct* || *Lucas von der Apostel geschicht.* || *Das erst Capitel.* ||, folio LXXXIII. (P)<sup>r</sup>;—[end of Acts], . . . mit aller freydickeyt vnuerpotten. || *Finis.* ||, folio CVII. (T ii)<sup>j</sup><sup>v</sup>;—*Vorrhede auff die Epistel* || *Sanct Paulus zu* || *den Romern.* ||, recto of A to recto of [A vi];—[end of *Vorrhede*], || *lose vns von yhnen / Amen.* ||, recto of [A vi];—[blank], verso of [A vi];—[text of Romans, with heading, beginning], || *Die Epistel sanct Pauli* || *zu den Romern.* || *Das Erst Capitel.* || [P] Aulus eyn knecht Ihe = ||, folio I(a)<sup>r</sup>;—[end of Jude], || *macht nu vnd zu aller ewickeyt / Amen.* ||, folio LXXVII [n v]<sup>v</sup>;—|| *Vorrhede auff die offinbarung* || *Sanct Iohannis.* ||, aa<sup>r</sup>;—[first cut of Apocalypse], aa<sup>v</sup>;—|| *Die offinbarung Sancti Iohannis* || *des theologen.* || *Das Erst Capitel.* ||, aa ij<sup>r</sup>;—[end of *Die offinbarung*], || *gnad vnsers herrn Ihesu Christ sey mit euch allen / Amen.* || *Ende.* || *Correctur.* ||, (followed by eight errata), [ee vi]<sup>r</sup>;—[blank], [ee vi]<sup>v</sup>.

The catchword on folio VI.<sup>r</sup> is, "Vnd da Ihesus" instead of "Vñ da Ihesus"; on folio VI.<sup>v</sup>, "auff dein" instead of "auff deyn"; on folio IX.<sup>r</sup>, "sihe da" instead of "Sihe / deyne"; on folio XIII.<sup>r</sup>, "liesse" instead of "liesze"; *et al.* Errors in numbering: first part, folio LXIII. is wrongly marked LXIII. (two being marked LXIII.), LXXI. is LXX. (two being marked LXX.); second part, LXIX, LXXI, LXXII, and LXXIII are XLIX, XLIX, LII, and LIII respectively.

<sup>1</sup> For fuller identification the signatures of the designated folios are given in parentheses after the folio-numbers. The little r at the right above is for *recto* and the v similarly placed is for *verso*.



## NOTES ON THE CONTENTS

In the order of books, Hebrews and James are placed after III John. In the list of books, verso of the fourth preliminary leaf, the books are numbered down to 23, the last four—Hebrews, James, Jude, and Revelation—being unnumbered and separated a little from the others. This order and numbering were followed by Tyndale.

Throughout the greater part of the book there are suggestive glosses in the outer margins and parallel references in the inner margins. Nearly two-thirds of the 92 marginal notes in Tyndale's *Cologne Fragment* are translations of these glosses by Luther, while every one of its parallel references is traceable to Luther's first three Wittenberg editions.

There is a woodcut initial, 5.7×6.9 cm. (14, and in some cases 15, lines deep), at the beginning of each book, except Philemon and II Petér. These cuts in all cases, except those before Acts, Hebrews, and Jude, are apparently meant to be representations of the writers. The same cut, representing St. Paul with a sword in his right hand and an open book in his left, is used before all his Epistles. A cut representing St. John sitting with an open book upon his knees and a pen in his hand is used at the beginning of his three epistles, while for Revelation the cut of Matthew is repeated, and for James the cut of St. John's Gospel is used. The woodcut initial "D" before Acts represents the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. The cut (initial "D") before I Peter represents St. Peter with the significant key.

In Revelation these are 21 unnumbered full-page illustrations, approximately 16×23 cm., representing apocalyptic scenes. As Lucas Cranach was apparently one of the publishers of this edition, these cuts have generally been attributed to him. Some writers have, however, held that they were the work largely of some of Cranach's most gifted pupils, but that they were perhaps suggested and corrected by Cranach himself. It has, moreover, been supposed by some that perhaps Luther himself suggested them and at least properly placed them, and that their apparent polemical character would indicate this. However, that some earlier similar work by Dürer formed a sort of model for them has of late come to be well-nigh established. But whoever the artist or their inspiration may have been, it is after all the text, not these cuts in illustration of it, that is and was meant to be of paramount importance. These cuts are found placed as follows: aa<sup>v</sup>, [aa iiij]<sup>r</sup>, [aa v]<sup>v</sup>, [aa vi]<sup>v</sup>, bb<sup>v</sup>, bb ij<sup>v</sup>, bb iij<sup>v</sup>, [bb iiij]<sup>v</sup>, [bb v]<sup>v</sup>, [bb vi]<sup>v</sup>, cc<sup>v</sup>, cc ij<sup>v</sup>, [cc iiij]<sup>r</sup>, dd<sup>r</sup>, dd ij<sup>r</sup>, dd iij<sup>r</sup>, [dd iiij]<sup>r</sup>, ee<sup>r</sup>, ee ij<sup>v</sup>, ee iij<sup>v</sup>, [ee iiij]<sup>v</sup>.

#### REMARKS

According to contemporary evidence the book was printed by three associated presses. This fact is also apparent from the book itself, although the type is uniform throughout. Thus, after four preliminary leaves (inclusive of title-leaf), there are CVII numbered leaves (four Gospels and Acts), the Roman numerals, with the

exception of XCIII and XCV, having the period after them. Then after the 6 unnumbered leaves of *Vorrhede* to Romans, there are LXXVII numbered leaves (Romans to end of Epistles), the Roman numerals, with the exception of the erroneously numbered leaf XLIX., not having the period after them. And, lastly, there are 26 unnumbered leaves (Revelation). The copy for the 4 preliminary leaves and the 6 leaves of the *Vorrhede* to Romans was apparently supplied while the book was passing through the press, as these were not counted into the numbering above indicated, while the other shorter *Vorrhede* were thus included. Similarly, there are also three sets of signatures (not to speak of A of *Vorrhede* to Romans), and none of these goes to the end of the alphabet.

Of this edition about forty copies (some of them incomplete), distributed among the various European libraries, have been registered. Of these, one is in the British Museum. There is also a copy in the John Rylands Library of Manchester, England. Another, incomplete, copy has been reported to be in the Library of Union Theological Seminary, New York (Schaff's *Church History*, VI, 347).

This edition is No. 233 of Goetze's *Samlung seltener und merkwürdiger Bibeln*; No. 1254 of Panzer's *Annalen der deutschen Litteratur*; II., A., e., 1 (p. 5), of Bindseil's *Verzeichniss*; \*1] N, of the Weimar *Deutsche Bibel*, Vol. 2. Darlow & Moule, No. 4188.



**II. Das Neue Testament Deutzsch. Wittenberg.** Without Luther's name. Colophon: *Wittenberg, Melchior Lotther, 1522* [December]

Folio (31×21.2 cm.). Second edition. 47, and in some cases 48, lines to the full page.

**Collation by signatures.**—4 preliminary leaves without signature-marks, except that the second and third have the numbers 2 and 3 respectively where the signature-marks would be due; A–Q (no J) in sixes; R, four; A, six; a–l (no j) in sixes; m, four; n–p in sixes; q, five (a reported blank missing); total 203 leaves, or, with missing blank leaf, 204 leaves. The first three leaves of all signatures are signed; and of the following signatures the first four leaves are signed, O–Q, a, c–i, and l. Leaf B begins "allerley"; C, "dyr eyne"; . . . R, "kennen kanst"; b, "alle"; c, "Es geht"; . . . q, "Vnnd darnach."

**Collation by pagination.**—4 leaves, unnumbered; I–C; 6 unnumbered leaves; [I]–XCIII. (no LXXI.); blank reported; total 204 leaves.

[title, as in number I., the place of printing being only 1.11 cm. below the lowest flourish of ornamental scroll, with four clover leaves below having stems facing each other in the form of a cross], || *Das Neue Testa* = || *ment Deutzsch*– || *Vuitemberg*. ||, recto of leaf [1];—[blank], verso of same;— || *Vorrhede*. || ES were wol recht vnd billich / das dis buch on alle vorrhe- ||, recto of [2];—[end of *Vorrhede*], || auff dise weyse zu lesen wissest. ||, verso of [3];—*wilchs die rechten vnd Edlisten* || *bucher des neuen testa* = || *ments sind*. ||, recto of [4];— || *Die Bucher des* || *neuen testa* = || *ments*. ||, verso of [4];—[heading and text beginning], || *Euangelion Sanct Matthes*. || *Das erste Capitel*. || [D] Is ist das buch von der ||, folio I(A)<sup>r</sup>;— || *Das ist das ende des* || *Euangeli Sanct*. || *Matthes*. ||, folio (erroneously marked XIX.) XXIII. [D iii]<sup>r</sup>;—[St. Mark beginning, without general heading], || *Das erst Capitel*. || [D] Is ist der anfang des ||, folio XXIII. [D iii]<sup>r</sup>;— || *Ende des Euangeli* || *Sanct Marcus*. ||, XXXVI.



[F vi]<sup>v</sup>;—[St. Luke beginning, without heading first chapter], || *Sanct Lucas*. ||, XXXVII. (G)<sup>r</sup>;— || *Das ende des Euangeli* || *Sanct Lucas*. ||, LX [K vi]<sup>v</sup>;— || *Sanct Iohannes*. || *Das erste Capitel*. ||, LXI. (L)<sup>r</sup>;— || *End des Euangelion* || *Sanct Iohan*=|| *nis*. ||, LXXVII. [N v]<sup>v</sup>;— || *Das ander teyll des Euangelii Sanct* || *Lucas von der Apostel geschicht*. || *Das erst Capitel*. ||, LXXVIII. [N vi]<sup>r</sup>;— [end of Acts], || *Finis*. ||, C [R iii]<sup>j</sup><sup>r</sup>;—[blank], C [R iii]<sup>j</sup><sup>v</sup>;— || *Vor-rhede auff die Epistel* || *Sanct Paulus zu* || *den Romern*. ||, recto of A to recto of [A vi];—[blank], [A vi]<sup>v</sup>;— || *Die Epistel sanct Pauli* || *zu den Romern*. || *Das Erst Capitel*. || [P] Aulus eyn . . . ||, [I] (a)<sup>r</sup>;— [end of Jude], || *macht nu vnd zu aller ewickeyt / Amen*.||, LXX [m iii]<sup>j</sup><sup>r</sup>;—[blank], LXX [m iii]<sup>j</sup><sup>v</sup>;—[no LXXI.];— || *Iohannis*. || *Vorrhede auff die offenbarung* || *Sanct Iohannis*. ||, LXXII. (n)<sup>r</sup>;— || *Die erste figur*. ||, foot of LXXII. (n)<sup>r</sup>;— [first cut of Apocalypse], LXXII. (n)<sup>r</sup>;— || *Die offenbarung Sancti* || *Iohannis des theologen*. || *Das erst Capitel*. || [D] Is ist die offenbarung || Ihesu Christi. . . ||, LXXIII (n ij)<sup>r</sup>;—[end of *Die offenbarung*, followed by colophon], || *vnsers hern Ihesu Christ sey mit euch allen / Amen*. || *Gedruckt zu vWittenberg durch Mel*=|| *chior Lotther yhm tausent funff*=|| *hundert zwey vnnd* || *zwentzigsten* || *Iar*. || [four clover leaves, arranged as on title-page] ||, upper half of folio XCIII. [q v]<sup>v</sup>;—[reported blank leaf].

The catchword on folio I<sup>r</sup> (first numbering) is “Eliud hat ge-born” instead of “Eliud hat geporn”; no catchword on I<sup>v</sup>; on X.<sup>v</sup>, “todtet / ” instead of “furcht” (the word “todtet” being omitted); on XII.<sup>r</sup>, “brod / wenn” instead of “brot / wenn”; *et al.* Errors in numbering: first numbering (up to end of Acts), folio XX. is wrongly marked XIX. (two marked XIX.), XXIII. is XIX., XXXV. is XXXX.; second numbering (to end of Revelation), LIII is LIIII (two marked LIIII), LXVIII is LXVII (two marked LXVII), while there is no LXXI. or all after LXX may be considered as erroneously numbered one ahead. A peculiarity in numbering is the use of the German V instead of the Latin V in LVI of second numbering.

## NOTES ON THE CONTENTS

The order of books, and the numbering in the list of books on the verso of the leaf immediately preceding St. Matthew, are the same as in the first edition, noted above.

This edition has also the glosses in the outer margins, as well as the parallel references in the inner margins, with only very slight changes, additions or omissions.

The type of the whole was apparently reset for this edition, with slight changes in spelling and an occasional minute difference in text. The *Vorrhede*, though also reset and arranged somewhat differently, is the same as in the first edition. The same appraisal of the relative value of the books of the New Testament, found in the first edition, is found on the recto of preliminary leaf four, under the heading || *wilchs die rechten vnd Edlisten* || *bucher des neuen testa=* || *ments sind.* ||. It contains unaltered as it is found in the first edition, the reported supposed "fling at the *rechte stroern Epistel* of St. James." Of this Dr. Philip Schaff incorrectly said that after the first edition this was "omitted or modified" (*History of the Christian Church*, VI, 247). Because of a current misapprehension as to this statement about the Epistle of James, and because it is supposed not to be in this edition, we shall here give it, as found set in this edition, in its context or connection. After naming the books that contain the true essence of the Gospel and enough for the needs of our salvation, namely, St. John, I John, St. Paul's Epistles to the Romans, Galatians, and Ephesians, and I Peter, the passage continues as follows:

|| . . . Darumb ist || Sanct Iacobs || Epistel eyn re || chte stro = || ern || Epistel || gegen sie . . . ||. This is, therefore, very manifestly only a *comparison* of books, not a rejection of James. In his *Vorrede* to James and Jude, Luther expresses a high regard for the Epistle of James, although he regards it there as not written by an Apostle. It might here also be said that, in addition to the more lengthy *Vorrhede* to Romans, there is a short *Vorrede* (spelled *Vorrhede* in some cases) before each of the remaining books of the New Testament, except that there is one *Vorrede* for the three epistles of St. John and one for James and Jude. These *Vorrede* are also in the first edition.

This edition has the same initial woodcuts as are found in the first edition, except the one at the beginning of James, which in this edition represents a boy with a bow and arrow shooting at a bird on a pillar, the pillar representing the initial I of IAcobus. This is the cut used before Jude in the first edition, as well as again in this one. It has also the celebrated 21 full-page illustrations in Revelation, the same being *numbered* in this edition, *Die erste figur*, *Die ander figur*, etc., while in the first edition they are not numbered. They are the same as in the first edition except figures 11, 16, and 17. In figure 17 the Babylonian woman upon the dragon has a simple crown, instead of what in the first edition looks like a triple crown, the crown being simply cut down in this and later editions. So in figures 11 and 16 this high ornamental crown on the head of the dragon itself is also cut

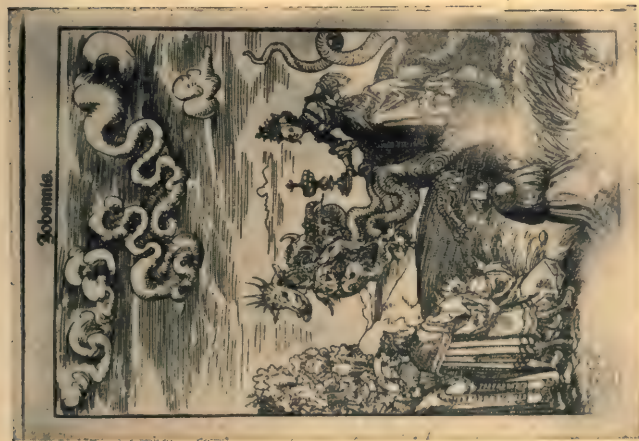


down in this and later editions. The crown in figures 11 and 17 of the first edition is surmounted by a cross, a fact which may partly account for its being cut down in later editions, although there may also have been some controversial reason. It may be stated that, while an attempt was made in the first edition to put the particular passage or text which the respective figures illustrate directly opposite them, this is not strictly adhered to in this edition. Their places are indicated by their numbers with the text. These cuts are placed as follows: n<sup>v</sup>, [n iii]<sup>r</sup>, [n v]<sup>v</sup>, [n vi]<sup>r</sup>, o<sup>r</sup>, o<sup>v</sup>, o ij<sup>v</sup>, o iij<sup>v</sup>, [o iii]<sup>r</sup>, [o v]<sup>r</sup>, [o v]<sup>v</sup>, [o vi]<sup>v</sup>, p ij<sup>v</sup>, p iij<sup>v</sup>, [p iii]<sup>r</sup>, [p iij]<sup>v</sup>, [p v]<sup>v</sup>, [p vi]<sup>v</sup>, q ij<sup>r</sup>, q iij<sup>r</sup>, [q iii]<sup>r</sup>.

#### REMARKS

Of this edition less copies have come down to our time than of the first edition; and these, with but a few notable exceptions, are found in the more important Luther collections of continental Europe. In addition to the copy here noted, which is in the original hog-skin binding and in excellent condition, there is another unregistered copy reported to be in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, England. Of the great rarity of copies of this edition, Goetze already wrote in 1777, *Sammlung seltener und merkwürdiger Bibeln*, saying that neither Baumgarten nor Lorck had been able to secure a copy. He attributed its greater rarity than the first edition to a less substantial binding.





SEVENTEENTH APOCALYPTIC FIGURE (THE  
BABYLONIAN WOMAN), FIRST EDITION OF  
N.T. (No. I).

Size of original cut,  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$  in.



TITLE-PAGE, SECOND EDITION OF N.T. (No. II)  
Size of original (ornamental cut),  $4\frac{1}{2} \times 6$  in.



TITLE-PAGE OF PENTATEUCH OF 1523  
(No. IV).

Size of original, 10×6½ in.



TITLE-PAGE OF SECOND PART OF O.T.  
OF 1524 (No. V).


Size of original, 9½×5½ in.

This edition is No. 234, of Goetze's *Samlung*; No. 1255, of Panzer's *Annalen*, II.; II., e., 2 (p. 5), of Bindseil's *Verzeichniss*; \*2] N, of the Weimar *Deutsche Bibel*.

**III. Das Neue Testament Deutzsch, Wittenberg.** Without Luther's name. Colophon: *Wittenberg, Melchior vnd Michel Lotther, 1524.*

Folio ( $29\frac{1}{2} \times 20\frac{1}{2}$  cm.). Third edition. 46 to 48 lines to a full page.

**Collation by signatures.**—[A], four; B–X (no J, U and W) in sixes; a–o (no j) in sixes; p, seven (plus missing blank); total 216 leaves. The first three leaves, except [A], of all signatures are signed; and of p the first four are signed. Leaf B begins "nach"; D, "von den"; X, "als aus dem"; a, "yhr."; b, "lippen reden"; p, "Iohannis." (heading, the 17th. apocalyptic figure, the woman upon a dragon filling the page).

**Collation by pagination.**—[title, within a woodcut border, consisting of an arch with 8 small angels above it, 1 on each side holding himself by a ring fastened to the round supporting pillar, and 9 below grouped around the crucified Lord], || *Das || Neue || Testa = || ment Deutzsch. || vVittenberg. ||*, folio [I., or sig. A]<sup>r</sup>;—[blank], v. of same;— || *Vorrhede. ||*, II. (A ij)<sup>r</sup>;—[end of *Vorrhede*], || *lesen wissest. ||*, III. (A iij)<sup>v</sup>;— || *wilchs die rechten vnd Edlisten || bucher des neuen testa = || ments sind. ||*, IIII. [A iiij]<sup>r</sup>;— || *Die Bucher des newen || testaments. ||*, IIII. [A iiij]<sup>v</sup>;— || *Euangelion Sanct Matthes. || Das erste Capitel. ||* [D] Is ist das buch von der || gepurt . . . , V. (B)<sup>r</sup>;— || *Ende des Euangelion Sanct || Iohannis. ||*, LXXXIII. (P)<sup>v</sup>;— || *Geschichte. || Das ander teyll des Euangelii Sanct || Lucas von der Apostel geschicht. || Das erst Capitel. ||* [D] Ie erste rede hab ich || zwar than . . . , LXXXIII. (P ij)<sup>r</sup>;—[end of Revelation, followed by colophon], . . . Die gnad vn = || sers Herrn Ihesu Christ sey mit euch allen / Amen. || *Gedruckt zu wittenberg Mel = || chior vnd Michel Lot = || ther gebruder || M. D. || XXIIII. ||*  ||, CCXV. [p vij]<sup>r</sup>;—[blank], CCXV. [p vij]<sup>v</sup>;—[a reported blank leaf].

The catchword on folio VII.<sup>r</sup> is "mell" instead of "mel"; on XII.<sup>v</sup>, "Vnd der" instead of "Vnd er"; on XIII.<sup>r</sup>, "erkend." instead of "kendt"; *et al.* St. Mark has no general heading at the beginning, folio XXVIII.<sup>r</sup>; "*Geschichte.*" is the heading of folio CVIII.<sup>r</sup>, where "*Vorrhede*" (of second page of Romans) is due. Errors in numbering: folio LVII. is erroneously marked LXII.; LXIX is LXIII.; CCVIII. is CCVII. (two marked CCVII.). The letter S in the word *Sanct* (heading), top of V.<sup>r</sup>, is inverted.

#### NOTES ON THE CONTENTS

The order, and the number in the list, of books is the same as in the first two editions already noted. This edition has also the glosses and the parallel references, with but slight changes. The text is slightly revised. It has the same unaltered appraisal of the relative value of the books of the New Testament, as is found in the other two editions, as well as all the *Vorrede* to the different books.

This edition has the initial woodcuts found in the first edition, and thus differs from the second edition in its woodcut before James. It has also the twenty-one full-page apocalyptic illustrations, with the three modifications of the second edition. These are, however, unnumbered and placed opposite the particular passages which they are to illustrate, as in the first edition.

#### REMARKS

Although the older bibliographers noted a folio and an octavo Wittenberg edition of the year 1523, no actual copy of that year can be found, even as is the case with the



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reported genuine Tyndale editions of the New Testament between 1526 and 1534. This folio edition of 1524 is therefore without a doubt the *third* Wittenberg edition.

This edition is very important as being the one of Luther's New Testament chiefly used by Tyndale in his translation, published near the close of 1525, as the writer has established from the notes, parallel references, etc., of the *Cologne Fragment* of 1525 (*The Truth about Tyndale's New Testament*, 1917). And although there are no printed notes with the general *Vorrhede* of these editions of Luther's New Testament, the copy here noted has in the outer margins of this *Vorrhede* contemporary manuscript notes (probably by Luther) which are found in translation in the outer margins of Tyndale's *Cologne Fragment*, even as it has Luther's printed notes in the margins of the text of Matthew. Thus near the foot of recto of A ij of the *Vorrhede* of this copy is the manuscript note, *Euangelion wird testamēt genendt.*, while with the corresponding paragraph of the *prologge* of the *Cologne Fragment* (verso of A ij) is the printed note, *whiche euangelion ys called a testamēt.* Thus this would indicate that this is probably the very copy of Luther's third edition that Tyndale used.

Copies of this edition are even much rarer than copies of the two editions described above. A few are found among the celebrated Luther collections of Europe.

This edition is not noted in Goetze's *Samlung*. Although Palm had described it in his *Historie der deutschen Bibel-Uebersetzung D. Martini Lutheri*, 1772 (pp. 88-89),

Goetze supposed it to be the same as his octavo copy of the same year (Samlung, No. 243) and therefore denied the existence of a folio edition of 1524.

Bindseil's *Verzeichnisz*, II., A., e., 5 (p. 5); Weimar *Deutsche Bibel*, Vol. 2, \*7] N.

We shall now continue our account by considering the different parts of the Bible issued in anticipation of their republication as a completed whole.

**IV. Das Allte Testament deutsch. M. Luther. Wittenberg.** [Melchior Lotther, early 1523].

Folio ( $20\frac{1}{2} \times 29\frac{1}{2}$  cm.). First edition. 45 to 47 lines to the full page.

**Collation by signatures.**—[A], six; A-X (no J, U and W) in sixes; a and b in sixes; c, four (the last blank); without signatures, 11 insets (full-page cut on one side and blank on the other); total 159 leaves. The first three leaves, except [A], of all signatures are signed. Leaf B begins "Regu war"; C, "Da stund"; X, [barmher] "tzigkeyt"; a, "die osteru opffern"; c, "die ewr."

**Collation by pagination.**—[title, within same woodcut border as in III.], || *Das All || te Testa || ment || deutsch. || M. Luther. || Vvittenberg.* ||, recto of first unnumbered leaf [A];— || *Die bucher des alten testa= || ments XXIIII.* ||, verso of same;— || *Vorrede Martini Luther.* || [D] As alte testament . . . , recto of second unnumbered leaf (A ij);—[end of *Vorrede.*], . . . Gott wolt seyn werck || volfuren das er angefangen hat. A M E N. || [printer's device] ||, verso of sixth unnumbered leaf [A vi];—[beginning of text, with heading], || *Das erst buch Mose. || Das Erst Capitel.* || [A] M anfang schuff Gott || . . . , Folio I. (A)<sup>r</sup>;— || *Ende des Ersten bu= || chs Mose.* ||, XXXVI. [F vi]<sup>r</sup>;—[Blank], verso of same;— || *Das Ander buch Mose.* || . . . , XXXVII. (G)<sup>r</sup>; || *Das Dritte buch ||*



*Das Erst Capitel.* || . . . , LXV. [L v]<sup>v</sup>;— || *Das vierde buch Mosi.* || . . . , LXXXVI. (P ij)<sup>v</sup>;—[blank], CXIII. [T vi]<sup>v</sup>;— || *Das Funfte buch Mose.* || . . . , CXV. (V)<sup>r</sup>;— || *Das ende der bucher Mose.* ||, CXXXX. (c ij)<sup>v</sup>;—[errata], recto and verso of c iij (un-numbered);—[blank], recto and verso of [c iiij];—[eleven unnumbered and unsigned leaves, insets, inserted at various places in different copies, blank on one side and a full-page colored illustration on the other].

The catchword on folio VI.<sup>r</sup> is “Sem aber zeuget” instead of “Sem aber Japhets grosser bruder zeuget”; on VII.<sup>v</sup>, “Also er welet” instead of “Da erwelet yhm.” Errors in numbering: LX. is marked XL.; XCVII. is XCXII.; CX. is CIX. (two being marked CIX.).

#### NOTES ON THE CONTENTS

In the margins are some suggestive glosses.

There are woodcut initials (colored) of about the same size as those of the New Testament, at the beginning of the *Vorrede* and of each of the five books of Moses. There are 11 full-page illustrations. These have been ascribed to Cranach; but they are not likely by Cranach but by some as yet undetermined artist. They are not uniformly placed in all extant copies. This copy is splendidly bound in vellum-covered boards.

#### REMARKS

Copies are found in the principal Luther collections of Europe. There is a copy also in the Library of the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Mt. Airy, Philadelphia, and one in that of Union Seminary, New York City.

Goetze's *Samlung*, 235, first part; Panzer's *Annalen* II., 1601; Bindseil's *Verzeichniss*, II., A., a., 1; Weimar *Deutsche Bibel*, Vol. 2, \*4] A<sup>1</sup>. Darlow & Moule, No. 4189 (vol. 1).

**V. Das Ander teyl des alten testaments.** Colophon: Wittenberg. [Döring and Cranach, 1524. Without Luther's name, except the initials M. and L. at the end].

Folio (practically same size as IV.). First edition. 41 to 44 lines.

**Collation by signatures.**—[A]–C in sixes; D, three; E–G in sixes; H, four; I–Q (no J) in sixes; R, four; S–Z (no U and W) in sixes; Aa–Ee in sixes; Ff, four; Gg–Kk (no Jj) in sixes; Ll, four; Mm–Pp in sixes; total 217 leaves. The first four leaves of all signatures are signed, except [A] and those of D, G, H, R, Ff, Ll, of which the first three are signed. Leaf C begins "Dem stam"; leaf pp, "than hatte."

**Collation by pagination.**—[title, with cut of Joshua in armor below], || *Das Ander || teyl des alten || testaments.* ||, recto of unnumbered leaf [A];—|| *Das register vber die bucher di= || szes teylls.* ||, verso of same;—[Beginning of text, with heading], || *Das Buch Iosua.* || *Das erst Capitel.* || [N] Ach dem todt . . . , folio I (A ii)<sup>r</sup>;—|| *Hie endet sich das Buch Iosua.* ||, XX (D iiij)<sup>r</sup>;—[Blank], XX (D iiij)<sup>v</sup>;—|| *Das Buch der Richter.* ||, XXI (E)<sup>r</sup>;—[blanks], XLV. (I iiij)<sup>v</sup>, XCIII [R iiij]<sup>v</sup>, CXC (Ll iiij)<sup>v</sup>, CXCVIII (Nn)<sup>v</sup>, and CCXVI (Pp vi)<sup>v</sup>;—|| [paschal lamb and Luther's coat-of-arms, with the initials M and L over the latter] || *Dis zeichen sey zeuge / das solche bucher durch || meine hand gangen sind / deñ des falschẽ druckẽs || vnd bucher verderbens / vleyssigen sich ytz* viel || *Gedruckt zu Vuittemberg.* ||, CCXVI [Pp vi]<sup>r</sup>.

Folio IIII<sup>r</sup> has no catchword. The catchword on folio V<sup>v</sup> is "so auff" instead of "szo auff"; on X<sup>r</sup>, "(denn Hazor" instead of "Denn Hazor"; etc. Folio XXXV is without the numeral. There are two with CLXXI, from which up to CC all may be con-

sidered numbered one too low; while there is no CCI, or after CC all may be regarded as being numbered correctly again. Thus, with the unnumbered title-leaf, there are 217 leaves. CLXIII is incorrectly numbered CLXIIII, two being marked CLXIIII.

#### NOTES ON THE CONTENTS

Like the other parts, this part has some marginal glosses in explanation of the text. There are no woodcut initials in the form of illustrations, such as are found in the other parts; but there are large initials in the form of ornamental scrolls, one of which appears on the title as the initial of the first word *Das*. In addition to the illustration of the armored Joshua on the title-page, there are 23 others, five of which are devoted to Samson. These cuts are ascribed to Cranach's pupils rather than to Cranach himself, while their places in the text were indicated by Luther himself. The first is on III<sup>r</sup> (upper half); the twenty-third is on CVII<sup>v</sup> (upper two-thirds); three occupy full pages, XXVII<sup>v</sup>, [XXXV]<sup>r</sup>, C<sup>r</sup>.

#### REMARKS

It used to be held that this part followed the foregoing during the same year 1523, this conclusion being apparently based largely upon a previously expressed hope on the part of Luther that it might be finished by Christmas (1523). But it has now been practically established that it did not appear till early in 1524.

There are several very slight differences in extant copies, changes probably made while passing through




the press. Among these is the difference in the spelling of the word Wittenberg at the end, some having *Vuittenbergk*, like the Helmstedt copy, while others have *Vuittenberg*, like the copy here noted and the Berlin copy, while still others have *Wittenberg*, like the Jena copy and a copy at Mt. Airy, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The copy here noted has some contemporary manuscript notes, one giving a brief statement of the translator's death, found on the sides of the coat-of-arms at the end. Other copies are found in the Luther collections of Europe.

Goetze, *Samlung*, 235 (second part); Panzer, *Annalen*, II., 2101; Bindseil, *Verzeichniss*, II., A., b., 1; Weimar *Deutsche Bibel*, Vol. 2, \*11] A<sup>2</sup>. Darlow & Moule, No. 4189 (vol. 2).

**VI. Das Dritte teyl des allten Testaments. Wittenberg. 1524.** [Melchior Lotther] Without Luther's name.

Folio (same size as IV.). First edition. 45-47 lines. Psalms and chapters 10-31 of Proverbs, in double columns.

**Collation by signatures.**—[A]—Q (no J) in sixes; R, four; total 100 leaves. The first four leaves of all signatures are signed, except [A] and those of C and R, only three of the last two being signed. Leaf B begins "ich will"; Leaf R, "Fluch."

**Collation by pagination.**—[title, within woodcut border having twelve persons at the top, with an open book before them, Moses with the table of stone being at the right and David with his harp being at the left, both pointing with the right hand down to the crucifying of Christ at the foot], || *Das Dritte || teyl des allten || Testaments.* ||  || *Wittenberg. M.D.xxiiij.* ||, recto of unnumbered leaf [A];— || *Das Register vber die bucher dises teyls.* ||, verso of same;— || *Vorrhede Martini Luther.* ||, folio [I] (A ij)<sup>r</sup>;—[full-page cut of afflicted Job and his supposed comforters], verso of



same;—[beginning of text], || *Das Buch Hiob* || *Das erst Capitel*. || ES war eyn man. . . . , II (A iij)<sup>r</sup>;— || *Ende des buchs Hiob*. ||, XX (D iij)<sup>r</sup>;—[blank], XX (D iij)<sup>v</sup>;— || *Der psalter*. || WOl dem || der . . . , XXI (D iiij)<sup>r</sup>;— || *Ende des psaltters*. || *Correctur*. [followed by three corrections], LXXI [M vi]<sup>r</sup>;— || *Vorrhede auff den psalter*. || ES ist . . . , LXXI [M vi]<sup>v</sup>;— || *Vorrhede auff die spruche Salomo*. || WEyl dis buch . . . , below middle of LXXII (N)<sup>r</sup>;— || *Die spruch Salomo*. || *Das erst Capitel*. || D Is sind . . . , LXXIII (N ij)<sup>r</sup>;— || *Vorrhede auff den prediger Salomo*. || DIs buch . . . , near middle of XC (Q)<sup>r</sup>;— || *Der prediger* || *Das Erst Capitel*. || D Is sind . . . , XCI (Q ij)<sup>r</sup>;— || *Das Hohe Lied Salomo*. || *Das erste Capitel*. ||, middle of XCVI (R)<sup>v</sup>;— || *Ende des Hohen liedes Salomo*. ||, foot of IC [R iiij]<sup>r</sup>;—[blank]., IC [R iiij]<sup>v</sup>.

The catchword on folio VI<sup>r</sup> is "Will denn" instead of "Wil denn"; that on LIIII (K)<sup>r</sup> is "101"; on LVII (K iiij)<sup>v</sup>, "107." Folio LXXXIII is marked LXXIII; LXXXIX is marked LXXIX.

#### NOTES ON THE CONTENTS

Counting the title-border as one, there are two full-page illustrations, the second being the one of the afflicted Job, noted above, on the verso of [I]. Their artist is uncertain, but they undoubtedly belong to the Cranach school. There are five woodcut initials, of which three (about 5.7×5.7 cm.) are of the nature of pictures. This part has marginal glosses. Where there are two columns these glosses are in both margins.

#### REMARKS

Some copies have the number of folio LXXXIX correct. Copies of this part are somewhat rarer than

copies of the other parts. Found in the more important European collections of Lutherana. The copy here noted bears the name of F. Grimm, and is in splendid condition.


Goetze, *Samlung*, 236 (fourth part); Panzer, *Annalen*, II, 2103; Bindseil, *Verzeichnisz*, II., A., c., 1; Weimar *Deutsche Bibel*, Vol. 2, \*13] A<sup>3</sup>. Darlow & Moule, No. 4189 (vol. 3).

**VII. Die Propheten alle Deudsch. Martin Luther. Wittenberg. 1532.** Colophon: *Wittenberg, 1532, Hans Luft.*

Folio (same size as the above). First edition. 43 to as high as 48 (recto of CXXII., first part) lines to the full page.

**Collation by signatures.**—[1], 2, 3, 4, [5], [6]; A–V (no J and U) in sixes; X, four; a–k (no j) in sixes; l, four; total 194 leaves. D iiij is marked E iiij. The first three leaves of signatures X, c and h are signed; of l, two leaves are signed; of all the rest, four leaves are signed. Leaf B begins “vbrigen”; X, “Darnach”; b, “Wie er”; l, “[D] Is ist.”

**Collation by pagination.**—6 unnumbered leaves; I.–CXXIII.; I.–LXIII.; 1 blank leaf; total 194 leaves.

[title, within woodcut border having an arch with two openings above, two small angels at each side and four below], || *Die Propheten* || *alle Deudsch.* || *D. Mart. Luth.* || *Wittenberg.* || M. D. XXXII. ||, recto of first unnumbered leaf;—[blank], verso of same;—|| *Vorrede auff die Propheten.* || [E] S scheint fur . . . , recto of second unnumbered leaf to foot of verso of fourth unnumbered leaf;—|| *Vorrede auff den Propheten* || *Iesaia.* || [W] Er den . . . , recto of fifth unnumbered leaf to foot of verso of sixth unnumbered leaf;—||  *Der Prophet Iesaia.* || [woodcut below], folio I. (A)<sup>r</sup>;—[text, with same heading, beginning], folio I. (A)<sup>r</sup>;—|| *Ende des Propheten Hesekiel.* ||, CXXIII. [X iiij]<sup>r</sup>;—|| *Vorrede vber den Prophe* = || *ten Daniel.* || [A] Vff das . . . , I. (a)<sup>r</sup> to VIII. (b ij)<sup>r</sup>;—|| *Der Prophet Daniel.* ||, IX. (b ij)<sup>r</sup>;—|| *Gedruckt zu Wittemberg*

durch || *Hans Lufft / Im jar.* || M. D. XXXII. ||, LXIII. [iij]<sup>r</sup>;— [blank], verso of same and last leaf.

Errors in numbering: first numbering, folio LXXXVI. is marked LXXLVI., LXXXIX. is XCIX., XCI. is XCIXI., XCII. is XCIXII.; second numbering, XLI. is LXI. The erroneous L in LXXLVI. is of German type. XVI. (second part) is not marked.

#### NOTES ON CONTENTS

Small woodcut initials before the different *Vorrede* and before the different books. Nearly full-page illustrations occupy I<sup>r</sup>. of first part, and X.<sup>v</sup> and [XVI]<sup>r</sup> of second part. There is a *Vorrede* (in some cases spelled (*Vorrhede*) before each book, except that before *Jeremia* and *Lamentations* there is a common *Vorrede*. This part has the usual marginal glosses.

#### REMARKS

The translation of this part was delayed on account of an accumulation of duties during the constructive period from 1524 to 1530.

About twenty copies have been registered as being found in European libraries. Except for several worm-holes the copy here noted is in perfect condition, although lacking the original binding.

Goetze, *Samlung*, 241 (second part); Bindseil, *Verzeichniss*, II., A., d., 1; Weimar *Deutsche Bibel*, Vol. 2, \*38]. Darlow & Moule, No. 4197 (vol. 4).

VIII. Apocrypha. Martin Luther. Wittenberg [Hans Lufft]. 1534. Folio (30.5×20.3 cm.). First edition. 48–50, and even as high as 51, lines to full page.



**Collation by signatures.**—[A]–S (no J) in sixes (last, blank, of S missing); total 108 leaves. The first three leaves of signatures O–S are signed; and after [A], the first four leaves of all the rest, except [B ii], are signed. Leaf B begins “DArnach”; S, “ES war.”

**Collation by pagination.**—[title, without border], || *Apocrypha*. || *Das sind Bücher: so nicht der || heiligen Schrift gleich || gehalten: vnd doch || nützlich vnd gut || zu lesen sind.* || *I Iudith.* || [other books], || *D. Mart. Luther.* || *Wittemberg.* || M. D. XXXIII. ||, folio [I]<sup>r</sup>;—[blank], verso of same;— || *Vorrhede auff's buch || Iudith.* || [W]O man . . . , II. (A ij)<sup>r</sup>;— || *Das Buch Iudith.* || I. || [A]Rphaxad der . . . , III. (A iij)<sup>r</sup>;— || *Ende der bucher des alten Testaments.* ||, CVI. [S v]<sup>r</sup>;—[blank], CVI<sup>r</sup>;—[reported blank leaf].

The catchword on verso of folio IV. is “kriegs” instead of “volck.” VI.<sup>v</sup> has no catchword. Folio XXXIX. is marked L.; XLVI. is XLIII.; XLVII. is XLVI., or all after XLVI. are marked one too low. Thus, with blank at end, there are 108 leaves.

#### NOTES ON CONTENTS

There are woodcut initials, most of them quite small, at the beginning of the chief parts, as well as small ones at the beginning of the chapters. Illustrations are found on VIII.<sup>v</sup>, XXIII.<sup>r</sup>, LXVI.<sup>v</sup>, XCII.<sup>r</sup>, CII.<sup>r</sup> It has *Vorrhede* before the books, and the usual marginal glosses.

#### REMARKS

This part was translated probably mostly during 1533, and thus completed the Old Testament. Hence preparations could then be made for the publication of the Bible as a whole, as all the parts had now appeared, some of them in various editions. The *Apocrypha* was, however, supposedly not issued separately, except as a part of the



completed Bible. This copy is, however, in separate binding, and might thus be considered as a separate part of the set of all the Wittenberg parts of the Luther Bible. Other points will be mentioned under our last head.

We shall now retrace our steps to consider the very important revised New Testament whose text was incorporated into the complete Bible.

**IX. Das Neue Testament. Martin Luther. Wittenberg. 1530. Colophon: Hans Lufft, Wittenberg.**

Small octavo (15.25×10.8 cm.). 32-33 lines to full page.

**Collation by signatures.**—[A]–Z (no J, U and W) in eights; a–z (no j, v and w, but a u) in eights; Aa–Ee in eights; Ff, four; total 412 leaves. The first five leaves of all signatures up to Ee are signed, except the leaves whose signatures would be A, A iij, K iij, b iij, e iij, g v, k iij, l v, o ij, o iij, p, Cc iij, Cc v, Dd ij, Ee ij, Ee iij, Ee iij, and also Ff iij. Moreover, v stands for r v (the r missing), while Ee iij is on verso of [Ee iij]. Otherwise the leaves are unnumbered.

[title, surrounded by a woodcut border, having an arch with three openings above, and three crosses with their victims (Christ in middle) below];— || *Das Neue || Testament || Mar Luters || Wittemberg.* || M. D. XXX. ||, recto of [A];— || *Martinus Luter.* || [I] Ch bitte / alle mei || ne freunde vnd feinde . . , verso of same;— || *Vorrede.* || [E] S were . . . , A ij<sup>r</sup> to A iij<sup>v</sup>;— || *Vorrede.* || *Welches die rechten || vnd Edlisten bucher || des newen Testa = || ments sind.* ||, A v<sup>r</sup> and v;— || *Die bucher des newen || Testaments.* ||, near foot of A v<sup>v</sup>, followed on next page by the names of the books;—[cut of Matthew in the act of writing], [A vi]<sup>v</sup>;— || *Euangelion Sanct || Matthes.* || I. || [D] Is ist das || buch . . . , [A vii]<sup>r</sup>;— || *Das ander teil des || Euangelij Sanct Lucas || von der Apostel Geschichte.* ||, [V vii]<sup>v</sup>;—[end of Revelation], || . . . . sey mit euch allen. ||

A M E N. || Register [catchword] ||, [Ee vi]<sup>v</sup>;— || *Register der Episteln* || vnd *Euangelien* . . . , [Ee vii]<sup>r</sup> to [Ff iii]<sup>r</sup>;— || *Gedruckt zu Wittem*= || *berg durch Hans Lufft*. ||, foot of [Ff iii]<sup>r</sup>;—[blank], verso of same.

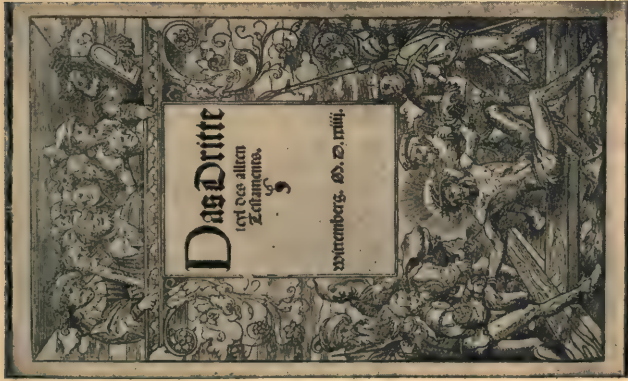
The catchword on D iii<sup>v</sup> is "euch fur" instead of "fur," although this should be correct, for it is the beginning of the next page that is incorrect, the "euch" being omitted.

Leaf B begins "lin vnd"; Z, "das er"; a, "ER kam"; z, "*Vorrede auff*"; Aa, "als ein"; Ee, "Vnd ich."

#### NOTES ON CONTENTS

In this edition, verso of title-page [A] appears Luther's warning against plagiarizing and reprinting his New Testament. It has the various *Vorrede* that appeared in the editions already noted. It also contains the supposed "fling" (verso of A v) at the Epistle of James, already mentioned. It has also the marginal notes, and the marginal references in the inner margin. The books are arranged and numbered as in the early folio editions.

A full-page cut, representing its author, precedes Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, the cut of Luke appearing again before Acts. A cut of St. Paul precedes Romans and a different one in each case before Corinthians, Galatians, Colossians, and Thessalonians, while before Timothy the cut before Galatians is used again. Peter, with a large key, appears before his first epistle, and John again before his first epistle. Revelation has 26 very striking full-page illustrations, 21 of them being imitations of, or based upon those in the early folio editions. These figures are numbered, *Die Erste Figur*., etc., as in the



TITLE-PAGE OF THIRD PART OF O.T.  
(No. VI).

Size of original,  $10\frac{5}{8} \times 6\frac{5}{8}$  in.



TITLE-PAGE OF *The Prophets* (No. VII)  
Size of original,  $9 \times 6$  in.



TITLE-PAGE OF *The Apocrypha* (No. VIII)  
Size of original (printed part), 84×44 in.



TITLE-PAGE OF N.T. OF 1530 (No. IX)  
Size of original, 44×34 in.



second edition. The twenty-fifth has the word *Wien* in the foreground to the left, upon the wall of the city, and the word *Magog* under the word *Gog* in the background to the right.

#### REMARKS

This edition (or perhaps better, issue) is a very slight variant from one with the following title: || *Das Neue* || *Testament* || *M. Luthers* || *Wittemberg* || M. D. XXX. ||. This has a different title-border. Of both these variants there are only several copies extant. Of the one above described there is another (registered) copy, incomplete, in Gotha. And we have also located one in Munich, also imperfect. The copy here noted is apparently the wanderer that belonged to Professor Schwarz, and may be the one that later was in the possession of Mr. Liebisch. It is complete and otherwise in perfect condition. This edition is textually of great importance.

Weimar *Deutsche Bibel*, Vol. 2, \*33<sup>2</sup>] N. Not in Goetze's *Samlung*, nor in Bindseil's *Verzeichnisz*.

All the parts of the Old Testament, except the Apocrypha, had now appeared. And if the copy of that part noted above was a separate issue, it is barely possible that even that part appeared before the complete Bible. And now, with a revised text of the Old Testament and the text of the New Testament last above mentioned, the whole Bible was soon to issue from the well-known press of Hans Lufft. To a description of this we shall now proceed.

**X. Biblia . . . die gantze Heilige Schrift Deudsch. Martin Luther. Wittenberg. Hans Luftt. 1534.**

Folio (30.6×21 cm.). First edition. 48-50 lines to full page.

**Preliminary leaves** (introductory part), [1], 2, a ij, 4, 5, eight leaves.

[title, upon a scroll nailed against a balcony and unrolled and held by five small angels below; at the top a bearded person with a nimbus around his head writing upon a sheet on whose suspended part occur the words, || *Gottes wort* || *bleibt ewig.* ||, with two angels on each side; at the bottom a group of interested small angels with one in the center reading from an open book upon his lap], || *Biblia / das ist / die* || *gantze Heilige Sch*= || *rifft Deudsch.* || *Mart. Luth.* || *Wittemberg.* || *Begnadet mit Kür*= || *furstlicher zu Sachsen* || *freiheit.* || *Gedruckt durch Hans Luftt.* || M. D. XXXIIII. ||, recto of first (unnumbered) leaf;—[blank], verso of same;— || *Von Gottes gnaden Iohans*= || *Fridrich Hertzog zu Sachsen / vnd* || *Churfurst etc.* ||, recto of second leaf, marked 2 at foot;— || *Bucher des alten Testaments.* ||, verso of 2;— || *Vorrhede auff das Alte* || *Testament.* ||, recto of leaf three, marked a ij;—[end of *Vorrhede*], . . . zu || *suchen im alten Test*= || *ment.* || [a clover leaf] ||, recto of (unnumbered) leaf seven;—[blank], verso of leaf seven;— [blank], recto of (unnumbered) leaf eight;—[full-page illustration of Creator above his creation], verso of eight, but on recto in this copy.

#### The Pentateuch

**Collation by signatures.**—A-Y (no J, U and W) in sixes; Z, four; total 136 leaves. The first four leaves of all signatures are signed, except the leaves whose signatures would be S iiij, T iiij, V iiij, Z iiij. Leaf B begins "Eber war"; Z, "So werden."

**Collation by pagination.**—|| *Das Erst Buch Mose.* || [A]M anfang schuff. . . . , folio I. (A)<sup>r</sup>;— . . . gesichten / die Mose thet fur den || *augen des gantzen Israel.* || *Ende der Bucher Mose.* ||, CXXXIII. [Z iiij]<sup>v</sup>.

Folio XXXVII. is marked XXXIII.; two are marked LIII.; two, LXXV.; two, CXXXI.

**The Second Part** (Joshua-Esther)


**Collation by signatures.**—two unmarked leaves; A-Z (no J, U and W) in sixes; a-h in sixes; i, four; total 190 leaves. Of A-Z and a-g the first four leaves are signed; of h and i, the first three.

**Collation by pagination.**—[blank], recto and verso of first unnumbered folio;—[title, with cut of armored Joshua below], || *Das Ander teil des al= || ten Testaments. || Wittemberg. ||* M. D. XXXIII. ||, recto of second unnumbered folio;—[blank], verso of same;—|| *Das Buch Iosua. ||* I. || **N** Ach dem tod. . . ., I. (A)<sup>r</sup>;— || *Ge-druckt zu Wittemberg / || Durch Hans Lufft. ||* M. D. XXXIII. ||;—[blank], recto and verso of [i iiij].

There are many errors in the numbering of the folios. These run—two unnumbered leaves, I.-XIII., XXXIII.-LXV., LXVII.-CXLVII., CXLIX.-CC., CCH-CCXII., one unnumbered blank leaf, total 190 leaves. Moreover, folio LV. is marked XV.; CVI., CV. (two CV.); CLXIII., CLXIII.; CLXIII., CLXIII.; CLXXI., CLXX (two CLXX); CLXXXVII., CLXXXVIII.

**The Third Part** (Job-Song of Solomon)

**Collation by signatures.**—[A]-C in sixes; Dd-Pp (no Jj) in sixes; total 90 leaves. Of signatures Ff and Oo only the first three leaves are signed; of all the rest the first four leaves are signed, except [A]. B iiij is marked Bb iiij; C ij is Cc ij; Mm ij, Mm iiij, and Mm iiiij are respectively M ij, M iiij, and M iiiij.

**Collation by pagination.**—[title, without border], || *Das Dritte teil || des Alten Te= || staments. ||*  || *Wittemberg. ||* M. D. XXXIII. ||, recto of unmarked folio [I];—[blank], verso of same;— || *Vor-rhede vber das buch || Hiob. ||* **D** As buch Hiob handelt. . . ., II. (A ij)<sup>r</sup>;— || *Das Buch Hiob. ||* I. || [half-page woodcut of Job with his comforters] || **E** S war ein man. . . ., II. (A ij)<sup>v</sup>;— || *Ende des Hohen lieds Salomo. ||*, near middle of second LXXXV [Pp vij]<sup>v</sup>.



The folios are numbered, [I]-X., IX.-XXXVII, XXXVII-LXVI., LXVI.-LXXXV., LXXXV. Hence there are 90 leaves, instead of LXXXV, as marked.

**The Prophets (Isaiah-Malachi)**

**Collation by signatures.**—[1], 2, 3, 4, six leaves; a-t (no j) in sixes; A-K (no J) in sixes; total 180 leaves. Of signature f the first three leaves are signed; of the rest the first four leaves are signed. Leaf n iiij is signed n iiiij; D iiij is signed F iiij.

**Collation by pagination.**—[title, within same border as general title, but without words on suspended leaf above, *Gottes wort bleibt ewig.*], || *Die Propheten* || *alle Deudsch.* || *D. Mar. Luth.* || *Gedrückt zu Wittemberg durch* || *Hans Luft.* || M. D. XXXIIII. ||, recto of first unnumbered leaf;—[blank], verso of same;— || *Vorrede auff die Propheten.* || recto of leaf marked 2 to verso of leaf marked 4;— || *Vorrede auff den Propheten.* || *Iesaia.* ||, recto of fifth to verso of sixth (unnumbered) leaf;— || *Der Prophet Iesaia.* ||. I || [woodcut] || D Is ist das. . . , I. (a)<sup>r</sup>;—[blank], unmarked folio CXV. [t vi]<sup>r</sup> and v;— || *Vorrhede vber den* || *Propheten Daniel.* ||, I. (A)<sup>r</sup> to VII. (B)<sup>v</sup>;— || *Der Prophet Daniel.* || I. || [woodcut] || I M dritten jar. . . , VIII. (B ij)<sup>r</sup>;— || *Ende des Propheten Maleachj.* ||, LIX. [K v]<sup>r</sup>;—[blank], verso of same, and recto and verso of last leaf.


There are many errors in the numbering of the folios. These run as follows: six leaves unnumbered; I.-XLIX.; LII.-XCII.; XCII.-XCV. (marked CV.); XCV.-XCVIII.; C.-CXIIII.; [blank]; I.-LIX.; [blank]; total 180 leaves. Folio XXIII. is marked XXVII.; LXXXVI. is LXXVIII.; LXXXIX. is XCIX.; XCI. is LXXXIX.; XCV. is CV.; XCVII. is XCVIII. (two XCVIII.); CVI. is CI.; of second numbering, XXVI. is XXI. and XXXII. is XXXIIII. Of first numbering, LXXVI. is marked LXXVj.

**The Apocrypha.** This is like No VIII. above, apparently in all respects.



### The New Testament

**Collation by signatures.**—[a], a ij, a iij, four leaves; A–M (no J) in sixes; N, four; O–Q in sixes; R, four; S–Z (no U and W) in sixes; Aa–Ll (no Jj) in sixes; total 204 leaves. The first three leaves of signatures N and R are signed; of the rest the first four leaves are signed. A ij is signed B ij.

**Collation by pagination.**—[title, within same border as that of *The Prophets*], || *Das Newe Te=* || *stament.* ||  || *D. Mart. Luth. || Wittemberg || M. D. XXXIIII.* ||, recto of first (unnumbered) leaf;—[blank], verso of same;— || *Vorrhede auff das Newe || Testament.* || [G] *Leich wie . . . .*, recto of a ij to recto of a iij;— || *Die Bucher des Newen Testaments.* ||, verso of a iij;—[blank], fourth (unnumbered) leaf;— || *Euangelion Sanct Matthes.* || [woodcut] || I. || [D] *Is ist. . . .*, I. (A)<sup>r</sup>;— || *Ende des Newen Testaments.* ||, CC.<sup>r</sup>;—[blank], CC.<sup>v</sup>

Among errors in numbering are, XXII. instead of XXI, LVI. instead of XLVI., and XXIX. instead of LXIX.

### NOTES ON CONTENTS (WHOLE BIBLE)

It has glosses in the outer margins and some parallel references in the inner margins. It has also the usual *Vorrhede* to the various books. Total number of leaves,  $8+136+190+90+180+108+204=916$  (not 908, as in *Weimar Deutsche Bibel*).

Of the illustrations we cannot speak in detail, except to say that these are quite numerous, as also are the woodcut initials, which are of several kinds. Several of the more important cuts are signed with a monogram. Thus on the cut of *Samson and Delilah*, Judges XVII., folio L. (second part), is the date 1532, as well as the

initials M S, which have been attributed to Melchior Schwarzenberg. Space will not permit further details.

#### REMARKS

For many years previous to 1734 writers denied that there was an edition with the date M. D. XXXIII. upon its title-page, because no one actually knew of an existing copy. Copies of other editions reported to have been issued, seemed to be extant, but none of this first edition of 1534. However, as contemporary and some later accounts referred to such an edition, it was concluded that such earlier writers had reference to one with the following imprint below the title: || *Gedruckt durch Hans Luft.* || M. D. XXXV. ||. This conclusion was based upon the fact that in such copies the dedication to John Frederick of Saxony ends with the date 1534. But Krafft, in his *Historische Nachricht*, 1735, proved that there was an edition bearing the date M.D.XXXIII. upon its title-page, and that the dedication to John Frederick with its date 1534 in the M. D. XXXV. edition was simply a reprint from the M. D. XXXIII. edition. He, moreover, succeeded in locating seven copies of this first edition. Other copies have, of course, since then been found. Among extant copies, one is reported to be in the Library of Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. For this description several slightly defective copies have been compared.

Goetze, *Sammlung*, 265; Bindseil, *Verzeichnisz*, A., I. 1.; Weimar *Deutsche Bibel*, Vol. 2, \*50] B. Darlow & Moule, No. 4199.

Luther's version formed the basis largely for versions in other languages, notably the Dutch, Icelandic, Swedish, Danish, and to some extent also for the English version by Tyndale and that by Coverdale.

The above-described first Wittenberg edition of the complete Bible was followed by other editions, one of which appeared in 1535. Of this 1535 edition there is a copy in the Library of Union Theological Seminary, New York. As these editions succeeded one another the translation was being subjected to a careful revision. But not only were there numerous Wittenberg editions of the whole Bible, but also of the various parts of it. Meanwhile in other cities there appeared many editions, both of the whole Bible and of its separate parts. But those later Wittenberg editions and these various reprints do not come within the scope of this paper. We shall therefore conclude this account of the Luther Bible.

# A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE SEPARATE PUBLICATIONS OF JAMES KIRKE PAULDING, POET, NOVELIST, HUMORIST, STATESMAN, 1779-1860

BY OSCAR WEGELIN

\* Only the first edition of each title is described.

Salmagundi; | or, | the | Whim-Whams and opinions | of | Launcelot Langstaff, Esq. | and others. | (3 lines from Psalmanazar) | (3 lines of verse) | Vol. I. | New-York: | Printed & Published by D. Longworth, | *At the Shakspeare-Gallery.* | 1807. | 2 volumes, 16mo. pp. (5),-4-206; (5),-208-430. (2 woodcut portraits engraved by Alex. Anderson)

\* Originally issued in twenty numbers, with yellow wrappers. No. I. is dated "Saturday, January 24, 1807." No. 20 bears date of "Monday Jan. 25, 1808." The first published writings in book form by Paulding appear in this work, which was written in conjunction with Washington Irving, under whose name it is generally catalogued.

The | Diverting History | of | John Bull | and | Brother Jonathan. | by Hector Bull-Us. | New-York: | Published by Inskeep & Bradford; | and Bradford & Inskeep, | Philadelphia. | 1812. | 16mo. pp. (3),-4-135.

\* Bound in printed boards, with title as above on front cover, with additional line at bottom, as follows; "Printed by D. & G. Bruce." On back cover is a list of new publications by the publishers of the above.

Jokeby, | a burlesque on Rokeby, | A Poem . . . in six cantos. | by an Amateur of Fashion. | To which is added, | occasional notes, | by our most popular characters. | (line from Romeo) | Published by W. Wells and T. B. Wait and Co. Boston, | and Eastburn, Kirk and Co. N. York. | 1813. | 16mo. pp. (5),-2-218.

\* Several bibliographers and cataloguers list the above under Paulding's name, but after considerable research I am convinced that it was written by John Roby, an English writer (1793-1850). It is not mentioned in the list of his (Paulding's) writings in the life of him by his son, W. I. Paulding.



Jokeby, | a | Burlesque on Rokeby, | A Poem, | in six cantos, by an Amateur of Fashion; | To which are added, | Occasional Notes. | *By our Most popular Characters.* | (line from Romeo.) | London: | Printed for Thomas Tegg, No. III Cheapside; | W. Allason, 31, Bond Street; J. Dick, | Edinburgh; and J. Cumming, Dublin. | 1813. | 12mo. pp. (4),-2-224.

The | Lay | of the | Scottish Fiddle: | A Tale | of | Havre De Grace. | *Supposed to be Written* | By Walter Scott, Esq. | First American, from the fourth | Edinburgh Edition. | New-York: | Published by Inskeep & Bradford, | and Bradford & Inskeep, | Philadelphia. | 1813. | 16mo. pp. (3),-4-11,-(1),-14-262.

The | Lay | of the | Scottish Fiddle. | A Poem. | in five cantos. | Supposed to be written | by W—— S——, Esq. | First American, | from the fourth Edinburgh edition. | London: | Printed for James Cawthorn, | Cockspur-Street. | 1814. | 16 mo. pp. (3),-iv-viii,-(1),-x-xvi,-(1),-2-222, and leaf of adv.

\* Contains a preface by the English editor. Although this edition was printed in London by Whittingham and Rowland, it is still called the "First American" edition.

The | United States | and | England: | Being a reply to the criticism | on | Inchiquin's Letters. | contained in the | Quarterly Review | for January, 1814. | New-York: | Published by A. H. Inskeep; | and | Bradford and Inskeep, Philadelphia. | Van Winkle and Wiley, | Printers. 1815. | 8vo. pp. (5),-6-115.

Letters from Virginia. Translated from the French. Baltimore, 1816. 12mo.

\* Attributed to Paulding, by Foley. "American Authors." Boston, 1897, but I am convinced that Paulding was not its author.

Letters from the South, | written during | an excursion in the Summer of | 1816. | by the author of | John Bull and Brother Jonathan, &c. &c. | (line in Latin from Horace.) | In two volumes. | Vol. I. | New-York: | Published by James Eastburn & Co. | At the Literary Rooms, Broadway, Corner of | Pine-Street. |

Abraham Paul, printer. | 1817. | 2 Volumes, 12mo. pp. (5),-4-254; (5),-4-260.

\* A revised edition with alterations and additions was issued. New York: 1835. 2 volumes, 12mo. It was issued under the nom de plume of, "A Northern Man."

The | Backwoodsman. | A Poem. | by J. K. Paulding. | Philadelphia: | Published by M. Thomas, 52 Chesnut St. | J. Maxwell, Printer. | 1818. | 12mo. pp. (11),-8-198, and 12 pp. of adv. preceding title.

No. I—Price 25 cents. | Salmagundi. | Second Series. | By Launcelot Langstaff, Esq. | Philadelphia: | Published by M. Thomas, Johnson's Head, | No. 108, Chesnut, between Third and Fourth streets. | and | J. Haly and C. Thomas, No. 55, Maiden Lane, New York. | J. Maxwell, printer. | 1819. | 16mo.

\* Published in fifteen parts. These parts were then bound up in three volumes of five parts each. Pagination as follows: Vol. I, 216; Vol. II, 321; and Vol. III, 321, and leaf of errata. The volumes were bound in boards with titles printed on covers. The numbers as originally issued were with yellow printed covers.

No. VI, bears the following imprint, "New York: | Published by Haly and Thomas, No. 55, Maiden Lane. | and | sold for them by M. Thomas, 108 Chesnut Street, | Philadelphia. | J. Maxwell, printer. | 1819. |" and all after No. VI, bear this imprint, "New York: | Published by Haly and Thomas, No. 142, Broadway. | and sold for them by M. Thomas, 108 Chesnut Street, | Philadelphia. | J. Maxwell, printer. | 1819. |"

\* Although W. I. Paulding in his biography of his father states that the last number was issued August 19, 1820, he is in error, as the last number bears date of Sept. 2, 1820. No. I was dated May 30, 1819.

A | Sketch | of | Old England, | by | A New-England Man. | (5 lines from Quarterly Review) | (7 lines from Blackwood's Magazine) | (6 lines from Howison's Travels) | (1 line from Edinburgh Review) | In two volumes. | Vol. I. | New-York: | Charles Wiley, 3 Wall-Street. | 1822. | J. Seymour, printer. | 2 volumes, 12mo. pp. (5),-vi,-viii,-(1),-2-305; (3),-iv,-(1),-2-250.

Koningsmarke, | The Long Finne, | A Story | of the New World.  
| (Four lines from Fragment of Minutes of Council in New York.) |  
In two volumes. | Vol. I. | New York: | Charles Wiley, No. 3 Wall-  
Street. | *Johnstone & Van Norden, Printers.* | 1823. | 2 volumes.  
12mo. pp. (5),-6-236; (5),-6-298.

John Bull in America; | or, | The New Munchausen. | New-  
York: | Charles Wiley, No. 3 Wall-Street. | G. F. Hopkins, Printer. |  
1825. | 12mo. pp. (3),-iv-xvii,-(1),-2-226.

The | Merry Tales | of the | Three Wise Men of Gotham. |  
Edited by the Author of | John Bull in America. | (cut of three  
men in a bowl at sea) | (4 lines of verse) | New-york: | G. & C.  
Carvill, 108 Broadway: | Sleight & Tucker, Printers, Jamaica. |  
1826. | 12mo. pp. (3),-4-324.

The | New Mirror for Travellers; | and | Guide to the Springs. |  
By an Amateur. | (line in French) | New-York: | G. & C. Carvill,  
108 Broadway. | 1828. | 12mo. pp. (3),-4-292.

Tales | of | The Good Woman. | By a Doubtful Gentleman. |  
(9 lines from *The New Republic of Letters.*) | New-York: | Pub-  
lished by G. & C. & H. Carvill, 108 Broadway. | 1829. 12mo.  
pp. (5),-14-367.

Chronicles | of | The City of Gotham, | From the Papers of | a  
Retired Common Councilman. | Containing | The Azure Hose. |  
The Politician. | The Dumb Girl. | Edited by the Author of |  
"The Backwoodsman," "Koningsmarke," "John Bull | in  
America," &c. &c. | New York: | G. & C. & H. Carvill. | 1830. |  
12mo. pp. (3),-iv-ix,-(2),-12-270 and slip of adv. preceding  
title.

Harper's Stereotype Edition. | The | Dutchman's Fireside. |  
A tale. | by the author of | "Letters from the South," "The Back-  
woodsman," | "John Bull in America," &c. &c. | "Somewhere about  
the time of the old French War." | In two volumes. | Vol. I. | New-  
York: | Published by J. & J. Harper, No. 82 Cliff-Street. | Sold  
by Collins & Hannay, Collins & Co., G. & C. & H. Carvill, White,  
Gal- | laher, & White, E. Bliss, & C. S. Francis;—Albany, O. Steele



and Little | and Cummings;—Philadelphia, John Grigg, Carey & Lea, Towar & | Hogan, E. L. Carey & A. Hart, T. Desilver, Jr., and U. Hunt;—Boston, | Richardson, Lord, & Holbrook, Carter, Hendee, & Babcock, | and Hilliard, | Gray, & Co.;—Baltimore, W. & J. Neal, J. Jewett, and Cushing & Sons. | 1831. | 12mo. pp. (5),-6-192; (3),-4-179.

The Lion of the West. A comedy.

\* This piece was produced on the stage in 1831, James K. Hackett taking the part of Nimrod Wildfire. The play was very successful, both here and in England, but I have seen no printed copy. In his *Literary Life of James K. Paulding*, New York, 1867, William I. Paulding, says, "As for the drama, I have found no traces of the original."

Westward Ho! | A Tale. | by the Author of "The Dutchman's Fireside," | &c. &c. &c. | (eight lines from Ballad.) | In two Volumes. | Vol. I. | New-York: | Printed and Published by J. & J. Harper, | No. 82 Cliff-Street. | and sold by the principal booksellers throughout | the United States. 1832. | 2 volumes, 12mo. pp. (3),-4-(3),-8-203; (3),-4-196 and 4 ll. of adv.

\* Issued as Nos. XXV-XXVI of Harper's Library of Select Novels. Bound in green cloth with printed title on front covers and lists of Harper's Publications on back covers. Some copies are in plain brown cloth with paper labels.

A Life | of | Washington. | by James K. Paulding. | in two volumes. | Vol. I. | New-York: | Published by Harper & Brothers, | No. 82 Cliff-Street. | 1835. | Two volumes. 16mo. pp. (5),-vi,-xii,-(1),-14-267; (3),-vi,-vii,-(2),-10-233. (Portrait of Washington, engraved by Prud'homme; views of The Tomb at Mt. Vernon and York Town, Va., and engraved titles.)

The Book | of | Saint Nicholas. | Translated from the original Dutch | of | Dominie Nicholas Ægidius Oudenarde. | New-York: | Harper & Brothers, 82 Cliff-St. | 1836. | 12mo. pp. (5),-vi,-(1),-viii,-xii,-(1),-14-237.

Slavery | in the | United States. | by | J. K. Paulding. | New-York: | Published by Harper & Brothers, | No. 82 Cliff-Street. | 1836. | 16mo. pp. (3),-6-312, and 10 pp. of adv.



A | Gift | from | Fairy Land. | New-York: | D. Appleton & Co., 200, Broadway. | 12mo. pp. (2),-i-vi,-(2),-1-174, and leaf with illustration on verso, entitled "Good Night."

\* Engraved title and numerous illustrations engraved after designs by J. G. Chapman. The preface is dated April 1, 1838, and is signed Sampson Fairlamb. The copyright date is 1838 and the date stamped on back cover is 1840. This book is one of the best specimens of book-making in America which I have seen.

The | Old Continental; | or, | The Price of Liberty. | by the author of "The Dutchman's Fireside," &c. &c. | In two volumes. | Vol. I. | New-York: | Paine and Burgess, | 60 John-Street. | 1846. | 2 volumes in one, 12mo. pp. (5),-6-191; (3),-4-192, and 5 leaves of adv.

American Comedies. | by | J. K. Paulding, | Author of "Westward Ho!" "Dutchman's Fire-side," etc. etc. | and William Irving Paulding. | Contents. | The Bucktails, or Americans in England. | The Noble Exile. | Madmen All, or the Cure of Love. | Antipathies, or The Enthusiasts by the Ears. | Philadelphia: | Carey and Hart. 1847. | 12mo. pp. (5),-iv,-(3),-18-295.

\* *The Bucktails* is by J. K. Paulding and although written shortly after the conclusion of the War of 1812 was never before published. The others in this volume are by W. I. Paulding.

The Puritan | and | his daughter. | by | J. K. Paulding, | Author of "The Dutchman's Fireside," etc. | Volume I. | New York: | Baker and Scribner, | 145 Nassau Street and 36 Park Row. | 1849. | 2 volumes. 12mo. pp. (5),-vi,-vii,-(2),-2-216; (5),-vi,-viii,-(1),-10-270.

\* The larger part of the edition was issued with the two volumes bound together, but some copies were issued with each volume bound separately. The second edition was issued in 1850.

1860 Association. }  
Tract, No. 2. } |

State Sovereignty | and the | Doctrine of Coercion, | by the | Hon. Wm. D. Porter; | together with a | Letter | from | Hon. J. K. Paulding, | Former Sec. of Navy. | The Right to Secede, | by |

"States." | (cut of hand) Read and send to your neighbor. (cut of hand) | 8vo. pp. (3),-4-36.

\* Imprint at end, "Evans & Cogswell's Steam-Power Presses, 3 Broad Street, Charleston, S.C."

Paulding's letter is dated "Hyde Park, Duchess county, N.Y. September 6th, 1851" and is printed on pp. (25)-29.

Tract No. 2. | Mr. Douglas | and the | Doctrine of Coercion, | together with | Letters | from | Hon. Herschel V. Johnson, | of Georgia, | and | Hon. J. K. Paulding, | Former Sec. of Navy. | (cut of hand) Read and send to your neighbor. (cut of hand) | n. p. (1860) 8vo. pp. (3),-4-24.

\* The "Letter" by Paulding is the same as in the preceding title and is printed on pp. (20)-22.

Literary Life | of | James K. Paulding. | Compiled by his son, | William I. Paulding. | In one volume. | New York: | Charles Scribner and Company. | 1867. | 12mo. pp. (3),-iv,-vii,-(2),-x-xiii,-(2),-16-389,-(4),-394-397. (Portrait engraved by F. Halpin.)

\* Contains unpublished letters and also several hitherto unpublished poems and sketches.

A | Book of Vagaries; | Comprising | The New Mirror for Travellers | and other | Whim-Whams: | being selections from the papers of | A Retired Common-Councilman, | erewhile known as Launcelot Langstaff, | and, in the Public Records, | as | James K. Paulding. | Edited by William I. Paulding. | New York: | Charles Scribner and Company. | 1868. | 12mo. pp. (5),-viii,-xiv,-(5),-4-417. (Portrait engraved by F. Halpin.)

## INCUNABULA LISTS

### I. HERBALS

Continued from Vol. XI (1917), p. 92.

BY ARNOLD C. KLEBS, M.D.

OUTWARDLY the *Herbarius* is most easily distinguished by its quarto size from the other members of the *Hortus* family, which are all folios. The fact that in some of the editions of the following work, the *Gart*, the name "*Herbarius*" also appears on the title-page has led to some confusion which English bibliographers have tried to obviate by adding to the title "*Herbarius*" the subtitle "*Aggregator*," also to be found in the Preface. I believe this will not clear but rather obscure the matter because this name "*Aggregator*" rightly belongs to another book (H\*6395), which, although it has nothing in common with our *Herbarius*, has already been confused with it. A good nomenclature must avoid such conflicting ambiguity, even in subtitles. The plain title "*Herbarius*" is the best designation for the books listed above. We need an equally distinct and clear title for the next member of the family, the more important work in the vernacular. "*Gart der Gesundheit*," for reference purposes plain "*Gart*," I believe, serves this purpose best. At least one bibliographer (Sudhoff) has adopted it and at any rate the Preface calls it plainly by that name, so that we may well afford to ignore another title on the first page. If Choulant had consistently used this



title instead of the misleading names "smaller" or "German Hortus" (suggesting that it is a translation of the Latin work which it is not), probably the confusion about the Hortus family would never have arisen. For reasons which I shall give at the end of this series I am not in favor of appending the name of a supposed author, Johann of Caub, to this book, although there is no objection to his figuring as editor. The reasons are perhaps not as strong as those which I gave for dropping the name of Arnoldus de Villanova as author of the *Herbarius* (see XI, 91), but I believe they merit consideration.

While the *Herbarius* is distinguished from the *Gart* by language and size, the most conspicuous feature of distinction between the *Gart* and the *Hortus* is the language only. The size, which Choulant adopted as the criterion, is very nearly the same for some of the editions of both books, and therefore to speak of "smaller" and "larger" is very misleading, although the *Hortus* contains on the whole a greater amount of text and more illustrations. The nomenclature which I have adopted ought to remove these books for once and all from the class of "troublesome entries," and I hope that the following characterization of the different editions will allow the ready identification of copies without tedious consultation of reference books.

**Gart der Gesundheit (Edited by Johann of Caub)**

Usually referred to as the "*smaller*" or the "*German Hortus*"

Contents, arrangement and sequence of text: I. Preface beginning: "Oft und viel hab ich bei mir selbst," etc.; II. Main text, illustrated, in 435 numbered chapters, describing remedial agencies, alphabetically ordered, of vegetal (380),



animal (26), or mineral (29) nature; III. First table of contents, grouping remedies according to their action or derivation; IV. Chapter on urinoscopy (diagnosis); V. Second table of contents, grouping remedies under names of diseases or symptoms; VI. Third table of contents, list of the Latin chapter headings as they appear in the main text. To the above is added in some editions a fourth table which lists alphabetically the German synonyms.

Illustrations. Full-page cut before the text of the book: **A** (in 6 variations), 3 sitting savants, 2 of whom bearded, attended by others in varying numbers, in background 2 trees (1 palm) or pharmacy wall with shelves, heraldic shield above. Smaller cut before the text of IV: **B** (in 5 variations), a physician holding flask and a patient (woman or male cripple) with a hamper. (For exceptions see ed. 11 and 15 below.) Text cuts still smaller (except in first two editions, where they are larger), picture mostly herbs. Their number varies from 379 (368 plants, 11 animals) to 392; one edition (11) has 542 (addition of genre pictures).

Collation and typography: Folios of 224 to 370 leaves, all with signatures, except ed. 1. Text of ed. 1 and 2 printed in 1 column, the rest in 2. Types: Gothic 93 to 120 text, larger for headlines, etc.

Editions: 15, of which 4 are undated. These are assigned to definite places in the chronological order of the dated editions.

#### 1) **Gart der Gesundheit.** [Middle Rhine, Palatinate]

*Mainz: Device of Peter Schoeffer, 28 March 1485. Folio.*

358 leaves. No sign. 1 col. (tables 2). Type: G 93 text. Colophon and Pr. D. red.

Illustrations. Cut A1: Savants (3) and attendants (10), palm to right, shield blank. B1: Woman to right, flat bonnet. Text cuts (full to one-third page): 379, plants 368, animals 11 (Elephant repeated).

2a: [O]fft vnd vil habe ich by mir selbst betracht die wüdersam || werck des schepfers. . .

H\*8948 (Hortus); Sudh. 67; BMC. 35 (Hortus); Choul. Inc. I p. 55; Schreiber V 4332 (Joh. von Cube).

Variant: As discovered by Mrs. Sears in one of her copies, the text of the larger part of one chapter (401 Tapsia) has been reset in order to accommodate the oblong cut in the correct upright position, it being placed transversely at the bottom of the page in the other (earlier) make-up. Other minor variations in spelling suggest that the revision was fairly general.

Washington: Surgeon General's Library (imp. illum. Missing Chaps. 72, 343-345, 420-435 and the entire III and IV). Boston:

Mrs. J. Montgomery Sears (2 perfect copies, 1 illum., the other variant not illum.).

2) **Gart der Gesundheit.** [Danube, Lech, Bavaria]

*Augsburg: [Joh. Schönsperger], Montag nechst vor Bartholomei, [22 Aug.] 1485. Folio.*

370 leaves, last blank. Sign: a-zA-VTV<sup>8</sup>X<sup>10</sup>. 1 col. (tables 2?). Type G 120 text.

Illustrations. Cut A2: copied from A1 with addition of Augsburg pinecone in shield. B2: reversed copy of B1: woman with larger bonnet to left. Text cuts: Copies, some reversed, from ed. 1. Initial "O" (39:38 mm.) on 2a. (Zainer?).

2a: Offt und vil hab ich bey mir selbs betracht dÿe wû || dersame werck des schepfers. . .

H\*8949 (Sorg); Sudh. 68 (no tract. urin.); BMC 365; Choul. Inc. 2 p. 56 (Sorg); Schreib. V 4333.

New York: T. B. DeVinne (illum., imp.).

3) **Gart der Gesundheit.** [Danube, Bavaria]

*Augsburg: Joh. Schönsperger, Sct. Bonifacius tag [5 June] 1486. Folio.*

258 leaves, last blank. Sign. 2 cols. Type G.

Illustrations: Cut A5: group in pharmacy, savants (3, bareface to right) and attendants (2), apprentice with mortar in rear. No shield, jars on shelves with town arms. B2: woman with bonnet to left. Text cuts; 394 reduced and reversed copies from preceding eds.

2a: [O]fftt vnd vil hab || ich bey mir selbs || betracht die wû || dersamen werk || . . .

From H\*8951; Sudh. 69; Choul. Inc. 6 p. 58; Schreib. V 4335 (some smaller cuts copied from ed. 6).

4) **Gart der Gesundheit.** [Danube, Bavaria]

*Augsburg: Joh. Schönsperger, Mittwoch nach dem weyssen suntag [7 March] 1487. Folio.*

258(?) leaves, last blank. Sign. 2 cols. Type G.

Illustrations. Cuts same as 1486 (ed. 3)?: A5 and B2.

2a(?): Offt vnd vil || habe ich bey || mir selbs be || trachtet die || wider-samē. . .

From Schreib. V 4337; Choul. Inc. 7 p. 58; Sudh. 70; H 8950 (1486).

## 5) Gart der Gesundheit. [Danube, Bavaria]

*Ulm: Conrad Dinckmut, Samstag vor Judica [31 March] 1487. Folio.*

248 leaves, last blank. Sign: a-zA-D<sup>8</sup>E<sup>6</sup> || F-G<sup>3</sup>H<sup>10</sup>. 2 cols. Type G 109 text.

Illustrations. Cut A3: savants (3) and attendants (9), palm to left, shield with Ulm arms. B3: woman bareheaded to left. Text cuts: 392.

2a: [O]Fft vñ vil hab || ich bey mir se || lbs betrachtet || die wundersamen || . . .

From H\*8952; Sudh. 71; BMC 535; Choul. Inc. 8 p. 58; Schreib. V 4338 (derives cuts from ed. 6 and 3). Muther I 46 (cuts different from ed. 3).

## 6) Gart der Gesundheit. [Upper Rhine, Alsace]

*Undated [Strassburg: Joh. Grüninger, c. 1488.] Folio.*

224 leaves, last blank. Sign: a-zA-C<sup>8</sup>[D-E<sup>8</sup>]. 2 cols. Type G 93 text. Headlines with chapt. nos. Spaces for initials.

Illustrations. Cut A4: savants (3) and attendants (9), palm to left, blank shield. B3: woman bareheaded to left. Text cuts: 384, some with chapt. nos. cut on block. Lower ends of plants curled (spirals).

2a: [O]Fft vnd || vil habe || ich by mir selbst || betracht dy wū || dersam werck || . . .

From BMC 103 (Cube: Hortus. Grüninger c. 1485, 2 imp. copies); Sudh. 80; Choul. Inc. 3 p. 57 (same blocks as ed. 10); C. II 3178 (Mainz); Schreib. V 4334 (Grüninger 1486, some of the cuts of this ed. considered as models for ed. 3 and 5).

## 7) Gart der Gesundheit. [Danube, Bavaria]

*Undated. [Augsburg: Joh. Schönsperger, 1488.] Folio.*

258 leaves, last blank. Sign. 2 cols. Type G.

Illustrations. Cuts: A5 and B2, same as ed. 3 and 4.

2a: [J]Ch hab oft || vnd vil bey || mir selbs be || trachtet die || wundersamē || . . .

From H\*8945 (Augsburg); Choul. Inc. 9 p. 59; Sudh. 77; Schreib. V 4339 (cuts from ed. 4, "enluminés à l'aide de patrons").

## 8) Gart der Gesundheit. [Danube, Bavaria]

*Augsburg: Joh. Schönsperger, Montag vor St. Thomas [15 Dec.] 1488. Folio.*

262 leaves, last blank. Sign: [\*<sup>4</sup>]; a-vw-zA-D<sup>8</sup>E<sup>6</sup>F<sup>3</sup>G-H<sup>6</sup>J<sup>8</sup>. 2 cols. Type G.



Illustrations. Cuts A5 and B2 from ed. 3, as also the Text cuts.

1a. Title. 2a-4b: Alphabetical table by German names. 5b. Cut A. 6a. sign. a<sup>2</sup>: [J]Ch hab oft || vnd-vil bey || mir selbs be || trachtet die || wundsamē || wercke des || . . . 8a. Text begins.

From H\*8953; Choul. Inc. 10 p. 59; BMC. 366 (woodcuts copied from Ulm ed. 5); Sudh. 72; Schreib. V 4340 (cuts from ed. 7).

9) **Gart der Gesundheit.** [Upper Rhine, Alsace]

Undated. [Strassburg: Joh. Grüninger, c. 1489.] Folio.

224 leaves, last blank. Sign. 2 cols. Type G.

Illustrations. Cuts: same as ed. 6 (copies?).

2a: [O]Ft vnd || vil habe || ich bey mir sel || best || betracht || dye wunder= || . . .

From H\*8946; Choul. Inc. 5 p. 57 (Strassburg or Mainz); Sudh. 78 (Mainz); Schreib. V 4336 (Strassburg: Thom. Anshelm? c. 1487. "Contre-façon presque exacte" of ed. 6. Cutting cruder).

10) **Gart der Gesundheit.** [Upper Rhine. Switzerland]

Undated. [Basel: Michael Furter, c. 1490.] Folio.

224 leaves, last blank. Sign: a-2A-C1-2<sup>8</sup>. 2 (tables 3) cols. Type G 93 text.

Illustrations. Same cuts as ed. 6: A4 savants (3) and attendants (9), palm to left, blank shield. B3: woman bareheaded to left. Text cuts: also the same with chapt. nos. cut on the blocks of all except those for chapt. 387 and 415 to 435. Initial floreated letters, white on black ground, square, at beginning of most chapt.

1a: blank. 1b. Cut A. 2a: OFt vnd vil || habe ich bey mir sel / || bst betracht die wun / || . . .

H\*8947; Choul. Inc. 4 p. 57 (same blocks as ed. 6 but worn. Strassburg or Mainz); Schreib. V 4341 (Basel, c. 1491, "réimpression presque exacte" of ed. 6).

Amana, Iowa: Dr. C. H. Herrmann (illum., blank leaf and last of text missing).

11) **Gart der Suntheit.** [Baltic, Hansa]

Lübeck: Stefan Arndes, 1492. Folio. [Low German version with additions.]

354 leaves. Sign. 1 (and 2) cols. Type G.



Illustrations. Cuts: no A. B5 male cripple on right with hamper. Sun above. Text cuts: larger copies from 370 cuts of ed. 1 or 2, in addition nearly 150 smaller cuts (several genre pictures) from Hortus sanitatis ed. 1 (see below); also some original cuts. In all 542 cuts.

Contents: Same division into V Parts. Addition to II. 253 new chaps. (107 vegetal and animal, 146 mineral, precious stones), making a total of 688 chaps. Some rearrangement of the order. Colophon at end of Pt. IV.

1a: Hiir heuet an de lustighe vnde || nochlige gaerde der suntheit. [Translation of preface beginning: Aken unde vele hebbe ik by mysuluen overdacht . . . ] 338b. sign C4: Colophon. 339a-354a: Part V ends: . . . ghelauet sy nu || vnde ewichliken Amen. 354b. blank.

From Sudh. 81; Schreib. V 4345; Choul. Inc. 29 p. 70; H. 8957.

NOTE.—The additions, textual as well as illustrative, are derived largely from Hortus sanitatis (1).

## 12) Gart der Gesundheit. [Danube, Bavaria]

Augsburg: Joh. Schönsperger, *Afftermontag nach Tiburtius* [13 Aug.] 1493. Folio.

262 leaves, last blank. Sign: same as ed. 8. 2 cols. Type G.

Illustrations. Cut A5: same as ed. 3; B4: woman to right with larger bonnet. Text cuts: the smaller, several additions, also genre pictures. Initials.

1a. Title: Herbarius zu teutsch || vnnd von allerhandt || . . . 2a-4b: Alphabetical table by German names. 5b: Cut A. 6a. sign. a2: Offt vnd vil || habe ich bey || mir selbs be || trachtet die wundersamē || weercke[!] des || . . . 8a: Text begins.

From Sudh. 74; H\*8954 note; Choul. Inc. 13 p. 61; not in Schreiber.

NOTE.—Parts of the make-up of this ed. were used in the following ed. 13 and 14 (see notes there).

## 13) Gart der Gesundheit. [Danube, Bavaria]

Augsburg: Joh. Schönsperger, *Afftermontag nach Tiburtius* [13 Aug.] 1493. Folio.

262 leaves, 5th and last blank. 2 cols. Sign. same as ed. 8 and 12.

Illustrations. Cuts same as ed. 12. Initials.

1a. Title: Herbarius zu teü || sche vnd von aller || handt. . . 2a-4b: Alph. table same as ed. 8 and 12. 5: blank. 6a. sign. a2: UJl vnd oft || habe

ich bey || mir selbs be || trachtet die || wüdersamē || wercke des ||. . . 7b: Cut A. 8b: Text begins.

H\*8954; Sudh. 73; Choul. Inc. 11 p. 59 (April 1493); Schreib. V 4342.

NOTE.—This ed., although bearing the same date as ed. 12, represents a new issue. It contains unchanged the make-up of sign: d, h, k, p-J from ed. 12. (Sudh.)

Philadelphia: College of Physicians (illum., blank leaves missing).

14) **Gart der Gesundheit.** [Danube, etc.]

Augsburg: *Joh. Schönsperger, Afflermontag vor auffart* [10 May] 1496. *Folio.*

262 leaves, last blank. Sign. same as ed. 8, 12, and 13. 2 cols. Illustrations. Cuts same as ed. 12. Initials.

1a. Title: *Herbarius zu teutsch || vnnd . . .* same as ed. 12. 2a-4b. Alph. tab. same as ed. 12. 5: blank. 6a. sign. a<sup>2</sup>: *VJl vnd oft || habe ich bey || mir selbs be || trachtet dye || wüderamē || . . .* 7b: Cut A. 8a: Text begins.

From H\*8955; Sudh. 75; Choul. Inc. 12 p. 60 (April-June 1496); Schreib. V 4343.

NOTE.—This ed. contains unchanged the make-up of sign: e, f, g, k<sup>1-3</sup> k<sup>4-8</sup> from ed. 12 (Sudh.).

15) **Gart der Gesundheit.** [Danube, etc.]

Augsburg: *Joh. Schönsperger, Montag nach Himmelfart* [13 May] 1499. *Folio.*

Collation not given. Illustrations. Cut C: *magister* (black shoes), and 4 students on 1a. (copy from cut used in undated *Hortus Sanitatis* ed. 2 and 3, described below). This copy was also used in Augsburg reprint of *Brunschwig, Cirurgia*, Dec. 1497 (H\*4019).

Preface: *UJl vnd oft || habe ich bei= || mir selbs be= || trachtete die || wundersa = || men. . .*

From *Schreiber V 4344*; (Panzer D. A. 1. 240, 473; Sudh. °76; Choul. Inc. 13 p. 60).

### Hortus or Ortus Sanitatis

Referred to as the "*larger Hortus*"

Contents, arrangement, and sequence of text: Preface beginning: "*Omnipotens eternique dei*," etc.; main text in six tractatus (traicties) which separate the subject matter of the "Gart" into natural kingdoms, subdivided into chap-

ters, each of which discusses under the heading "Operationes" the therapeutic effects. Thus I. De herbis, 560 chapt.; II. De animalibus, 164 chapt.; III. De avibus, 122 chapters; IV. De piscibus, 106 chapt.; V. De lapidibus, 144 chapt.; VI. De urinis.

Two tables of contents in 5 divisions, corresponding to the first 5 tractates: First table, grouping remedies under names of diseases or symptoms, second table (tabula generalis), listing the chapter headings. In both tables the arrangement is alphabetical inside of the divisions. Modification of this arrangement only in ed. 5.

Illustrations. Full-page cuts (from 3 to 7) serving as frontispiece and pictorial prefaces to divisions of the book. Text cuts, throughout smaller to fit into the columns, reach and sometimes exceed 1000.

Collation and typography: Folios of 360 to 476 leaves, all with signatures and printed in 2 columns. Types: Gothic of several sizes.

Editions: 5, of which 4 are undated. All in Latin except one in French. Chronologically the undated editions follow the dated one in a now definitely established order.

1) **Hortus sanitatis.** [Middle Rhine, Palatinate]

*Mainz: Jacob Meydenbach, 23 June 1491. Folio.*

454 leaves, last blank. Quires: 8s and 6s alternating irregularly. Sign: A-Za-m [1-248] | n-z z; aa-ll [249-408]; i-v [409-422] | A-E [423-454]. Type G 92 text.

Illustrations. (1) Cut A6: Savants (3) and attendants (6), palm to left, 2 shields blank (see "Gart"). 6 other full-page cuts, different from other editions: (2) 3 men and earth animals, (3) 2 men and air animals, (4) 2 men and water creatures, (5) jewellers shop 12 persons, (6) apothecary shop 9 persons, (7) physicians and patients 8 persons. Text cuts: 1066 (530 plants, 164 animals, 122 birds, 106 water animals, 144 precious stones, etc.).

1a. Title: *Ortus sanitatis*. 1b: Cut A.

HC\*8944; Choul. Inc. 14 p. 61; JPM. 32; BMC. 44; Schreib. V 4247; Muther pl. 150 facs.

Washington: Surgeon General's Library (illum.). Chicago: John Crerar Library. Boston: Arnold Arboretum. Mrs. J. Montgomery Sears. New York: J. P. Morgan.

*Undated Editions*

Most readily distinguished, in case the first leaf is missing, by examination of the signatures or the full-page woodcuts, which are the following: C: magister



(white shoes) sitting and 4 students; **D**: human skeleton; **E**: apothecary sitting and physician, 2 shelves, 2 stars; **F**: patient in bed, 3 physicians; **G**: 4 text cuts; **H**: author presenting book to king and 7 attendants. In the following descriptions these cuts are indicated in the order in which they appear in the editions.

2) **Hortus sanitatis.** [Upper Rhine]

[Strassburg: *Joh. Prüss, c. 1496.*] *Folio.*

360 leaves. 2 cols. Quires alternate regularly 8s and 6s, (sign. dd is 4).

Sign: a-z Aa-Ii [1-202] | A-O PqrsT U-Z z [203-332] | aa-ee [333-360].

Illustrations. Cuts: C, D, E.

1a. Title in 9 lines: Ortus Sanitatis || De herbis et plantis || . . . 5th line ends: . . . bus ||

H\*8942; Choul. Inc. 16 p. 63 (note of purchase: 2 fl. rhen. 1500, 31 jan.); Schreib. V 4249; Muther I, 541 (Grüniger).

Washington: Library of Congress (imp., some leaves misbound). Boston: Arnold Arboretum (not illum.).

3) **Hortus sanitatis.** [Upper Rhine]

[Strassburg: *Joh. Prüss, c. 1497.*] *Folio.*

360 leaves. 2 cols. Sign: a-z Aa-Ii [1-202] | A-U [203-332] | aa-ee [333-360].

Illustrations: Cuts: Same as ed. 2.

1a. Title in 9 lines: Ortus Sanitatis || De herbis et plantis . . . 5th line ends: . . . (tibus ||

H\*8941; Choul. Inc. 15 p. 62; JPM 63; BMC 124; Pr. 1447 (Cöln: H. Quentell); Muther I 541 (Grüniger); Schreib. V 4248.

Washington: Surgeon General's Library (First leaf defective and pasted over. Ms note signed "Major, British Museum" to the effect that edition is to be considered as of Venetian origin). Boston: Arnold Arboretum (Contemp. Ms note of purchase. 12 Kal. Nov. [21 Oct.] 1497. 2 guld. Probably Dr. J. F. Payne's copy referred to by Pollard in JPM cat. Acquired Sept. 1902). New York: Dr. G. F. Kunz.

4) **Hortus sanitatis.** [Upper Rhine]

[Strassburg: *Joh. Prüss, c. 1499.*] *Folio.*

360 leaves. 2 cols. Sign: a-z A-I [1-202] | K-Z Aa-Ff [203-332] | Gg-Ll [333-360].



Illustrations. Cuts: E (reduced), G, D, E.

1a. Title in 9 lines: ORTUS SANITATIS || De herbis et plantis. . . 5th line ends: . . . (tibus ||

HC 8943; Choul. Inc. 17 p. 64; JPM 113; Pr. 1448 (Cöln); Muther 542; Schreib. 4250; cf. BMC I. p. xxvi.

Philadelphia: College of Physicians (imp.); St. Louis: Missouri Botanical Garden. New York: Dr. Abraham Jacobi, J. P. Morgan.

*Undated French Translation*

5) **Hortus sanitatis translate en françois.** [Isle de France]

Paris: Antoine Verard [publisher, c. 1500.] Folio. Sometimes in 2 vols. Copies on vellum.

476 leaves. 2 cols. Quires: 8s, 6s and one 4. Sign: a-z z aa-yy, numb: i-cclxxvi; a-c [1-292] | A-X AA-GG, numb: i-clxx; aaa-bbb [293-462] | A-B [463-476].

Illustrations. Cuts: H, D, E. Caligraphic initial "L" (Macfarlane 9) on 293. Verard's device at end. Cut H had appeared already in *Crescentius: prouffits ruraulx*. Paris: Jean Bonhomme, 15 Oct. 1486. D and E are copies of the original Grüninger cuts, as also the text cuts.

1a. Title: ORTVS SANITATIS || TRANSLATE DE LATIN || EN FRANCOIS || 1b. line 3: Le prohesme de || lecteur . . . 276(yy<sup>4</sup>) blank. 292(c): Finist la table || des herbes. 293a(A<sup>1</sup>): LE TRAICTIE DES BESTES. OYSEAVLX || . . . 293b: Cut D. 294a(A<sup>2</sup>): Le prologue || [P] Our ce que es choses devāt || dictes layde divine. . . 462(bbb<sup>8</sup>): blank. 476a(B<sup>8</sup>) Colophon: Paris || en la rue saint Jaques pres petit pont a lenseigne saint iehan leuāgeliste || . Ou au palais au premier pillier devant la chapelle ou len chante la messe || de messeigneurs les presidens. || 476b: Verard's device.

From HC. 8958 and Macfarlane 140, which differ somewhat, suggesting the existence of variants. Cf. Claudin I. p. 191, also J. F. Payne in Tr. Bibl. Soc. Lond. 1903. vi. 120. Dr. Payne considers all the woodcuts derived from the German cuts, with 1 or 2 exceptions.

**Grant herbier en francoys (Arbolayre)**

More than 20 editions of this book, probably all without date, issued from several allied presses in Paris (folios and quartos). All resemble each other, but only two can be assigned with certainty to the fifteenth century, surely after 1485. They complete the series of illustrated herbals and have to be considered as imitations of the earlier books. Their prototype is the "Gart,"

and in the first edition, which appeared as "Arbolayre," very likely the identical blocks which had served for one of the Upper Rhine editions were again used. Some Hortus cuts were also copied. In style the pictures resemble those of the Macer floridus, which were probably derived from them. The text differs entirely from the other editions. It is a copy from one of the many fifteenth-century French Mss of Platearius: Circa instans (Secrets de Salerne).

**Arbolayre. [Saône or Rhône, Burgundy]**

*Undated. [Besançon or Lyon.] Folio.*

212 leaves, last blank. 2 cols. Sign: A-X y z Aa-Ff. Type G. Illustrations: There seems to be at least one full-page cut on 1b. The number of text cuts is uncertain. The first plant picture (Aloe on 25b) has the Roman numeral 36, corresponding to the serial number of the "Gart" editions (see ed. 6, 9, 10). Initials.

Contents in following order: Title, Table of remedies in groups of diseases, Preface, Text of plants in alphabetical order, Epilogue.

From Pell. 1101 [Lyon, Jac. Maillet 1490]. Claudin (iv. proofs) assigns book to P. Metlinger, Besançon before 1490. Cf. Choul. Inc. p. 74, also Dorveaux: Liv. des simples medecines. Par. 1913, p. xviii.

**Grant Herbar. [Isle de France]**

*Undated. Paris: Pierre Le Caron. Folio.*

170 leaves: 22 with sign. ã & 1 ð, 148 with sign: A-Z z, numb: i-cxlvii [cxlviii].

Illustrations: Probably no full-page cuts. Text cuts: 297 of plants, several repeated. Initials. Pr. D. below colophon (facs. Cl.).

Contents seem to be the same as Arbolayre, arranged in the same order.

From Pell. 1102 (copy without title-page, hence placed under Arbolayre); Cl. II. p. 83 facs. Cf. Dorveaux (op. c.) calls attention to complete copy at Bibl. Ste-Geneviève, Paris, not seen by Pell. Has in title "Le Grant Herbar," substituted for "Arbolayre" in earlier edition.

NOTE.—The Surgeon General's Library, Washington, possesses 2 copies of this book, both imperfect and without place or date. They differ from above edition by having Pr.D. below the title (and not at end). They are those of Jean Petit and Michel Le Noir of a time well inside of the sixteenth century. In these editions the tables are placed at the end, an arrangement which probably distinguishes all the later eds. from the incunabula.

CONCORDANCE OF NAMES AND INDEX TO THE  
FIFTEENTH-CENTURY ILLUSTRATED  
HERBALS DESCRIBED

(KLEBS: INCUNABULA LISTS. *PAPERS*. 1917-18, XI-XII)

Figures in parentheses indicate pages in preceding volume (XI), others to current volume (XII). Blackface names are the standard entries adopted.

Aggregator practicus de medicinis simplicibus = *Herbarius* lat. . . . . (86-89)

**Apuleius Barbarus: *Herbarium*** . . . . . (81)

**Arbolayre** = earliest ed. of *Grant Herbier* (Gart.) . . . . . 52

**Arnoldus de Villanova: *De virtutibus herbarum*** = *Herbarius* lat., printed in Italy.

Cube (Cuba, Kaub): *Hortus* = Gart

**Gart der Gesundheit** . . . . . 42

German *Hortus* = Gart

**Grant Herbier** = successor to *Arbolayre* (Gart.) . . . . . 52

*Herbarius* in dietsche = *Herbarius* lat. in Netherland. translation . . . (89 h, b)

***Herbarius latinus*** . . . . . (undated 86, dated 89)

*Herbarius* lat. cum figuris = printed in Netherlands . . . . . (87 c, d)

*Herbarius Maguntinus* = *Herbarius* lat. . . . . (89 a)

*Herbarius Passavinus* or *Patavinus* = *Herbarius* lat. . . . . (90)

*Herbarius zu teutsch* = Gart

*Herbolarium* = *Herbarius* lat. printed in Italy . . . . . (91 f)

*Hortus* family = *Herbarius* lat., Gart and *Hortus* san. . . . . 83

'*Hortus* problem,' Note on . . . . . 54

***Hortus Sanitatis*** . . . . . 48

*Hortus* san., the smaller = Gart

*Hortus* san., the larger = *Hortus* san.

*Hortus* san. translate en françois = *Hortus* san. French . . . . . 51

Johann of Cube: *Hortus* = Gart

*Kruidboek* = *Herbarius* lat. Netherland. translation . . . . . (89)

***Macer floridus: De viribus herbarum*** . . . . . (77)

*Ortus sanitatis* = *Hortus* san.



## NOTE ON THE "HORTUS PROBLEM"

In a brief essay on the "Hortus Sanitatis" which appeared recently in these *Papers* (XI, 57) Mr. Bay stated that this work, beyond easily ascertainable bibliographic data, "presents one of the most puzzling problems in the history of book-making." The problem according to him consists in four uncertainties: (1) about the person of the compiler, (2) about the primacy of the Latin or the German version, (3) about the origin, literary as well as geographical, of the work, and (4) about the connection of Johannes Cuba with it. He comes to the conclusion that the "solution of this problem must come *from the books themselves*." An excellent hint from a bibliographer to bibliographers. To take his last uncertainty first, or rather (1) and (4) together, I must point out that he is in error when he states that Johannes Cuba's name does not occur in print in any edition previous to that of 1514. It does occur in *every* edition of the Gart at the end of chapter 76, and it is exactly this fact that has brought the name into the discussion about the authorship. No other evidence of his connection with the book from fifteenth-century sources has been brought to light. In the sixteenth century, however, his name is frequently appended to reprints of one or the other of these books, and the tradition, then formed, has been transmitted to us. That the work cannot have an author, but at best only an editor, is clear when we recognize its encyclopaedic character. That it is such, and not merely an uncritical



and purely commercial compilation, I believe can be shown without difficulty, although space is wanting for it here. It would of course be interesting to know the man who incited and supervised an undertaking which inspired directly a great amount of original work. But mediaeval enterprises of this kind were not apt to be labeled as one-man jobs as they are now; they were, like the cathedrals of the day, the result of an intimate co-operation between craftsman and scholar, to whom the glory of self-advertisement had not yet made an appeal. Whether or not it is sound policy to project our own standards in these matters onto the products of the fifteenth century may be a debatable point, but the most we can concede to Johan Wonnecke of Caub as a possible share in the completion of the Gart is that he may have read proof and annotated a passage. He may have done more, he may have done less, and little does it matter as long as his name does not interfere with the nomenclature of the books as now established.

Point (2) regarding the primacy of the Latin or German Hortus offers really no uncertainty when we keep in mind that the German, i.e., the Gart, was first published in 1485 and the Latin Hortus six years later, in 1491. There was a time when it was thought that the undated *Hortus* editions might have served as the basis of an abbreviated German version, but we know now definitely that all of these editions appeared after 1491. A further supposition was, and this leads us directly to point (3) regarding origins, that both Gart and Hortus were based

on a manuscript original in Latin which, as in the case of the French herbals and in that of both *Apuleius* and *Macer floridus*, was simply reproduced by the press of some enterprising printer. This supposition can be proved only by the discovery of the actual manuscript; until then it remains pure speculation on analogy. It is indeed astonishing that no such manuscript has been found during the great sifting process which has taken place in almost all manuscript collections while the prototypes of the other printed herbals were readily discovered. *En passant* I may say that the manuscript which Mr. Bay mentions belongs to this latter class and has no similarity with the text of the Hortus. It would seem therefore quite possible that no Hortus manuscript exists and that the printed Hortus books are of purely autochthonous origin, i.e., the text collected, the pictures drawn and cut right there and then, in or near the printing-office, similarly as we know it was done in the case of the famous herbals of the next century. It is difficult to understand why this obvious explanation has not been proposed before, and I believe all the internal evidence is in favor of it.

This is really the only remaining "puzzle" in the "problem," and it will undoubtedly disappear when historical research throws full light on the cultural and intellectual activities which surrounded and influenced the work of the early printing presses. Carefully planned, not merely exhaustive, bibliographic analyses can further this important research. Applied to definite series of incunabula they provide the indispensable basis of uni-

form and therefore comparable data. A great deal of the confusion in the Hortus series has been due to the lack of such a basis and the consequent uncertainty of nomenclature. I hope that my lists will prove to be a start in the right direction and that the same principle might be applied to other series of incunabula, practically all of which contain puzzling elements.

## THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF GRAY

BY RONALD S. CRANE

Professor C. S. Northup has long been known to students of eighteenth-century English literature for his interest in Gray. His edition of Gray's essays and criticisms, and numerous articles and notes dealing with special questions have added on many important points to our knowledge of the poet of the *Elegy*. He has now placed us under still greater obligation by providing us with an invaluable tool for future research—a bibliography of all of Gray's work.<sup>1</sup>

It is a bibliography conceived in the most liberal sense. Its aim, in the words of the Preface, "is to present a complete record of the editions of Thomas Gray's works, together with a list of all the reviews, critical notices, and studies relating to him that have thus far appeared." "I have made it as full as possible," adds Professor Northup, "in order to indicate the extent of Gray's popularity and influence." The result is that, although Gray was the very antithesis of a prolific writer, his "bibliography" as thus defined occupies a volume of 296 pages, and includes considerably upward of two thousand entries. This material is distributed through nine sections, the headings of which are as follows: "Bibliographies and Bibliographical Articles," "Complete Works, and Selections from both the Prose and the Poetry," "Poetical Works," "Selection from the Poetical Works," "Selections from the Prose Works," "Translations of Select Works," "Individual Works and Translations," "General Criticism," "Note on the Manuscripts."

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<sup>1</sup> *A Bibliography of Thomas Gray*. By Clark Sutherland Northup. New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, MDCCCXVII. Pp. xiii+296. (Cornell Studies in English. Edited by Joseph Quincy Adams, Lane Cooper, Clark Sutherland Northup.)



Within each section the order of entries is chronological. Cross-references, references to reviews, and indications as to the whereabouts of copies of rare works are provided in generous abundance. Although the bibliography as a whole makes no pretenses to being critical, in at least one section—sec. 8—a system of asterisks and notes enables one to discriminate roughly between the few studies of value that have appeared on Gray and the large amount of worthless or mediocre material which the compiler's ideal of completeness has forced him, quite justifiably of course, to include. The volume ends with an appendix of undated editions, a list of addenda, and an index of thirty-seven pages.

To the serious student of Gray and of Gray's period, two of the most suggestive sections of the volume will be those devoted to the imitations and criticisms of individual poems and to the criticisms of Gray's work as a whole (secs. 7, 8). From the texts listed here it will be possible to form a more correct and precise notion of Gray's reception by the public of the later eighteenth century, and consequently of his contribution to the taste and poetical practice of the next generation. Everyone knows Wordsworth's strictures on Gray's style in the Preface to the *Lyrical Ballads*. We shall now be able to discuss, with some degree of assurance, the question of the historical significance of this attack. To what extent was Wordsworth's view already common property in 1800? To what extent was it shared by the other poets of the early nineteenth century? Many such detailed studies will be possible as a result of the aid furnished by Professor Northup's *Bibliography*.

In the interest of these and similar investigations, it is desirable that the omissions inevitable in a work of this sort should be reduced to the minimum. The works which follow include few if any really important additions to Professor Northup's list. Most of them, however, have something to say to the student of Gray's "popularity and influence":<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> In this list I have made use of Professor Northup's notation and method of indicating titles and references.

438aa. 1782. JOHN SCOTT [OF AMWELL.] The Mexican Prophecy. An Ode. In *The Poetical Works of John Scott, Esq., The Second Edition*, London, Printed for J. Buckland, MDCCLXXXVI, pp. 247-258.

The first edition appeared in 1782. Cf. Chalmers' *English Poets*, XVII (1810), 487-488.

747. F. Baldensperger, *Études d'histoire littéraire*, 1<sup>e</sup> série, Paris, Hachette et Cie, 1907, p. 93.

873c. WILLIAM JULIUS MICKLE. Pollio; an Elegy. Written in the wood near Roslin Castle, 1762.

Mickle's ode was published in 1765. There is a reprint in Chalmers' *English Poets*, XVII (1810), 516-517.

1030a. ANON. An Essay on Elegies. In *The Annual Register . . . for the year 1767*, pp. 220-222.

1102a. 1898. HENRI POTEZ. In his *L'Élégie en France avant le Romantisme (de Parny à Lamartine)*, 1778-1820, Paris, Calmann Lévy, 1898, pp. 307-310, 335, 350-351.

1250c. 1783. To Thomas Warton, April 15, 1770. In *The Gentleman's Magazine*, February, 1783, liii, 100-101.

1344a. 1782. JOHN SCOTT [OF AMWELL.] To Childhood. In *The Poetical Works of John Scott, Esq., The Second Edition*, London, Printed for J. Buckland, MDCCLXXXVI, pp. 176-177.

The first edition appeared in 1782. Cf. Chalmers' *English Poets*, XVII (1810), 478.

1535a. 1761. THE LIBRARY: OR, MORAL AND CRITICAL MAGAZINE. For remarks on Gray see I, 158, 238.

1560a. RICHARD CUMBERLAND. Ode I. To the Sun. In his *Odes*, London, J. Robson, 1776, pp. 17-18.

Cf. also the Dedication, p. 4.

1566a. [SIR HERBERT CROFT.] Love and Madness. A Story Too True. In a Series of Letters between Parties, whose Names would perhaps be mentioned, were they less known, or less lamented. London, for G. Kearsly, 1780, pp. 222-223, 229.

**1575a.** HUGH BLAIR. In his *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*, London, 1783, Lecture XXXIX.

**1575b.** THE EUROPEAN MAGAZINE. Account of the Life and Writings of William Mason, M. A. December, 1783, iii, 410-413.

**1599b.** W. BELSHAM. In *Essays, Philosophical and Moral, Historical and Literary*, London, Printed for G. G. and J. Robinson, 1799, i, 43, ii, 504, 505.

**1609a.** JOHN AIKIN. In his *Letters to a Young Lady on a Course of English Poetry*, London, 1803, Letter XIV.

Repr. New York, 1806; see pp. 184-193.

**1618b.** [ANNE MACVICAR GRANT.] *Letters from the Mountains; being the real Correspondence of a Lady, between the Years 1773 and 1807*, London, Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1807, Third edition, i, 73, 91, iii, 56.

**1625a.** ELIZABETH CARTER. In a Series of Letters between Mrs. Elizabeth Carter and Miss Catherine Talbot, from the Years 1741 to 1770, to which are added, Letters from Mrs. Elizabeth Carter to Mrs. Vesey, between the Years 1763 and 1787, The Third Edition, London, Rivington, 1819, i, 314, 353, iii, 34, 126-127, 327. The first edition appeared in 1809.

**1632a.** *The Philosophy of Nature; or, the Influence of Scenery on the Mind and Heart*, London, John Murray, 1813, i, 68, 252, ii, 68-69, 159, 195, 198, 206, 265.

**1694a.** ROBERT SOUTHEY. In *The Poetical Works of Robert Southey*, collected by himself, London, Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longmans, 1838, Preface.

**1864a.** SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE. In *Anima Poetae*. From the unpublished Note-Books . . . . Edited by Ernest Hartley Coleridge, London, William Heinemann, MDCCCXCV, pp. 5, 270.

**1934a.** CHARLES CESTRE. In his *La Révolution française et les poètes anglais (1789-1809)*, Paris, Hachette et Cie, 1906. See the index.

1980c. OLIVER ELTON. In his *A Survey of English Literature, 1780-1830*, London, Edward Arnold, 1912.

See the index.

1983a. DANIEL MORNET. In his *Le Romantisme en France au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, Hachette et Cie, 1912, pp. 115, 120, 272.

1992e. GUSTAVE LANSON. In his edition of Lamartine's *Méditations Poétiques*, Paris, Hachette et Cie, 1915, I, xv, lxviii, 12, 52, 196.

In the present state of English literary history, the most pressing need of students is surely for bibliographies. It is true that some progress has recently been made toward filling this gap in the indispensable preliminary tools of research: witness such excellent bibliographies of genres as Mr. Arundell Esdaile's *List of English Tales and Prose Romances Printed before 1740* and Professor Carleton Brown's *Register of Middle English Religious Verse*, and such useful guides to particular authors as Miss Hammond's *Chaucer: a Bibliographical Manual* and the present work of Professor Northup. But bibliographies comparable to these in completeness and accuracy are still far from numerous. To multiply them in all the principal fields of literary investigation should be recognized as one of the main tasks devolving upon the present generation of scholars.



## FRANCIS ASBURY SAMPSON

Mr. Sampson came from Ohio and settled in Sedalia, Missouri, in 1868 and practiced law. He was a graduate of the College of the City of New York and of the Law School of the University of New York. He soon began collecting books and other documents on Missouri and Missourians. There was no book or pamphlet or broadside too trivial for his collection. He had accumulated in 1901 a valuable private library of 1,886 volumes and 14,280 pamphlets. This was the most complete collection "dealing with Missouri in existence and contained many valuable state documents which were missing from the collection at the state capitol."

Mr. Sampson gave this private collection to the State Historical Society of Missouri in 1901, soon after the organization of the Society; he was then elected secretary of the Society. With this collection as a nucleus he accumulated a library of 60,000 titles for the Society. He was an expert collector and persistent in his search for material. He compiled for his own use bibliographies of the official publications of the state, of the publications of the institutions of the state, of the fraternal and religious organizations, and railroads whose lines traverse the state. These check-lists were kept in small books which he carried with him on his collecting trips, and in which he indicated the items secured. Bibliography and collecting were therefore mutually helpful and mutually dependent. His bibliographies were a means to an end—a list of material is necessary before collecting can be done intelligently and successfully.

I have never seen him happier than when he had secured a rare railroad report which was not in the possession of any other library, or when he was able to pick up an old report of a Missouri religious or a fraternal organization which would complete a file for binding, or some newspaper published in Missouri at an early date which was not in the files of any other library.

Mr. Sampson retained his interest in natural history, especially in the collection of crinoids. The Sampson Collection of crinoids in the museum of the University of Chicago was made by him. He was most active in writing and collecting shells from 1882 to 1901, when he became secretary of the Society. Various types of shells have received his name in recognition of his discoveries.

He was one of the founders of the Sedalia Natural History Society and of the Public Library of Sedalia. He was associate editor of the *Sedalia Times* from 1870 to 1872 and editor of the *Missouri Historical Review* from its beginning in 1906 to 1915, and a frequent contributor to its pages. His published writings since his connection with the State Historical Society have been largely bibliographical compilations. He left incomplete a bibliography of publications printed in Missouri before 1850, which he was compiling in conjunction with W. C. Breckenridge, of St. Louis. He was engaged also in revising his *Bibliography of Slavery and the Civil War in Missouri*. Following is a list of them:

History and Publications of the Missouri State Horticultural Society.

*The Thirty-third Annual Report of the State Horticultural Society of Missouri*, 1890, pp. 437-449. Jefferson City, Mo., 1891.

Bibliography of the Geology of Missouri.

*Geological Survey of Missouri, Bulletin No. 2*, December, 1890, pp. 1-176. Jefferson City, Mo.

Bibliography of Missouri.

*Encyclopaedia of the History of Missouri*, Vol. I, 1901, pp. 215-270.

A Catalogue of Publications by Missouri Authors and Periodicals of Missouri of 1903 in World's Fair Exhibit in Missouri Building. Columbia, Mo., 1904, 47 p. (Press of E. W. Stephens.)

Official Publications of Missouri Bibliography. Columbia, Mo., 1905, pp. 313-356. (Reprinted from Bowker's *State Publications*.)

Bibliography of Missouri State Official Publications of 1905.

*Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. I, No. 1, October, 1906, pp. 85-100.

Bibliography of Missouri State Official Publications of 1906 and 1907. Reprinted from the *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. II, No. 4, July, 1908, pp. 303-318.

Bibliography of Missouri State Official Publications of 1908 and 1909. Reprinted from the *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. IV, No. 3, April, 1910, pp. 182-200.

Bibliography of Missouri Biography. Reprinted from the *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. II, No. 2, January, 1908, pp. 131-157.

Bibliography of Slavery and the Civil War in Missouri, by F. A. Sampson and W. C. Breckenridge. Reprinted from *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. II, No. 3, April, 1908, pp. 233-248.

Sessions of the Missouri Legislature. (First to forty-fifth.)

*Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 42-43.

Bibliography of Books of Travel in Missouri. Reprinted from the *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. VI, No. 2, January, 1912, pp. 64-81.

The New Madrid and Other Earthquakes in Missouri.

*Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association*, Vol. VI, pp. 218-238. Cedar Rapids, 1913. Reprint.

The New Madrid and Other Earthquakes of Missouri.

*Bulletin Seismological Society of America*. Vol. III, No. 2, June, 1913, pp. 57-71. Reprint.

Same.

*Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. VII, No. 4, July, 1913, pp. 179-199.

Bibliography of the Missouri Press Association. Reprinted from the *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. IX, No. 3, April, 1915, pp. 155-176.

HENRY O. SEVERANCE

## NOTES

*The Literature of the Invention of Printing. I. The Fifteenth Century*, by Aksel G. S. Josephson. *Additional Titles.*

**1471**

**Mesue:** De medicinis universalibus. Venezia: Clemens sacerdos, 18 May 1471. Folio. 204 leaves. *Hain-Copinger* 11118.

In letter of Nicolaus Gupalatinus to Peregrinus Cavalcabovi, at the end of the work, the inventor of printing is spoken of as being a German: ". . . tibi uir litteratissime . . . magnas gratias habebimus: quod codicem minc rarum prius: . . . & tua emendatione castigatum: & hoc nouo excribendi genere prope diuino: nostris inuento temporibus impressum. Qua arte habet haec aetas profecto inauditum cunctis saeculis celebrandumque miraculum: ut quingenta uolumina unius auctoris nunc fieri facile possint: quanto tempore uelox scribentis manus difficile unum tantum excriberet. Ita. N. cartha litterae inscribuntur aeneis formulis eisdem ut lubet dispositis: & quoddam alueolo collocatis ueluti quis diuersarum imaginum gemmis multis pro uoto positis ac coarctatis in cerea tabella super compressa caracteres imprimat. O bonum germanum illum huius admirabilis artis primum inuentorem: laudibusque omnino diuinis celebrandum. Quippe qui tali ratione omnia litterarum studia facillime percipi haberiue possint: inuestigauerit . . . impressor Clemens Patauinus sacerdos. . . in daedaleo praesertim: & manuali opere ingeniosissimus . . . italorum primus libros hac arte formauit. . ."

**1491**

**Hortus sanitatis.** Mainz: Jacob Meydenbach. 23 June 1491. 454 leaves. *Hain* 8944.

Colophon states that the art of printing had been invented in Mainz: "Impressum est autem hoc ipsum in inclita ciuitate Moguntina. que ab antiquis aurea Moguntia dicta, ac a magis id est sapientibus vt fertur primitus fundata. in qua nobilissima ciuitate et ars et scientia hec subtilissima characterisandi seu imprimendi fuit primum inuenta."

**1497**

**Apuleius, Lucius.** Epitoma de mundo. Wien: Johann Winterburg [after 1497]. 52 leaves. *Hain* 1321.

Colophon says that the art of printing had been invented in Mainz: "Impressum per Ioannem de hiberno arce, haud procul a ripis Rhenanis et urbe inuentrice & parente impressorie artis Mogunciaciaco feliciter."







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WILLARD FISKE MEMORIAL

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## WILLARD FISKE MEMORIAL

PAPERS READ AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY,  
SARATOGA SPRINGS, NEW YORK, JULY 5, 1918









PORTRAIT OF WILLARD FISKE

## A SKETCH OF THE LIFE AND LABORS OF PROFESSOR WILLARD FISKE

BY PROFESSOR HORATIO S. WHITE

The principal facts in the life of Daniel Willard Fiske are these:

He was born in Ellisburg, New York, November 11, 1831, and died at Frankfort-on-the-Main, September 17, 1904. His father was a member of that widely ramifying English and American clan of Fiskes whose versatile stock embraced representatives as variously distinguished as the Rev. Thaddeus Fiske, a member of the Board of Overseers of Harvard University, the celebrated financier Colonel James Fisk, Senator Stephen A. Douglas, General Clinton B. Fisk, for whom Fisk University was named, and the well-known historian Mr. John Fiske, of Cambridge. Lord Kitchener was a member of the English branch.

Fiske's mother, Caroline Willard, was a kinswoman of Samuel Willard, who presided over Harvard College between 1700 and 1707, and of Joseph Willard, who was president of the same institution from 1781 to 1804. Among other members of the same family who were graduates of Harvard College, Josiah Willard was librarian in 1702-1703, and Sidney Willard a century later was not only librarian but afterward Hancock professor of Hebrew and other Oriental languages. The English ancestor of the family, Major Simon Willard, 1604-1676,

according to a tablet to his memory in the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral, was "Commander-in-chief of British Forces against the hostile Indian Tribes. He was distinguished in the military, legislative and judicial service of the American Commonwealth. One of his ancestors was Provost of Canterbury 1218, and another was Baron of Cinque Ports 1377."

According to the family tradition the boy Fiske was able to read at the age of three. During the presidential campaign of 1840 the eight-year old lad used to read the political news to the village crowd in the days of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too." An eye-witness has said that as many as thirty people had been noticed in this rural audience. Another family tradition is that the boy wrote a play based on William Tell which was acted in a barn.

Fiske's early education was gained at Cazenovia Seminary, New York, and at Hamilton College, but he left the latter institution before graduation to go abroad and study the Scandinavian languages. At the University of Upsala, Sweden, he passed two years, traveling meanwhile on the Continent, and acting as correspondent for various American journals. Among his mates at Upsala was Prince Oscar, who afterward became King of Sweden and Norway. Returning to New York in 1852, he took a place in the Astor Library, where he remained until 1859.

Of Fiske's service in the Astor Library an associate on the library staff at that time, Mr. Frank H. Norton, wrote in 1912 as follows:



Fiske was first assistant librarian. I found him a most agreeable companion. He was kind and considerate in posting me on duties which were entirely new to me. He had occupied his position in the library about three years, and was thoroughly informed as to its contents; a familiarity which it took me a good while to acquire. He was most active in mind and body. His perceptions were sharp and accurate, and he could divine at once what an ignorant reader needed to help him out of a difficulty; and, with his comprehensive familiarity with the library, could supply at once the works needed. This was, in fact, our chief duty: to understand what the reader wanted to learn; and then, from the library shelves, give him the necessary books to answer his purpose. Very few among average readers (I do not refer to readers for amusement) know just what they want; and few ever know the "sources of information." Fiske could handle such a situation with perfect ease, and was therefore a most valuable aid to seekers after knowledge. He was also kind and courteous to everybody; and his knowledge of languages of course was of great assistance in the case of the many foreigners who used the library. He was always particularly kind and helpful to school boys and college students, and was consequently very much liked by them.

Mr. Norton's letter illustrates Fiske's inveterate habit of making himself useful to others. What his views at that time were regarding the functions of libraries in general and the method of administering them may be gleaned from passages in two articles which he contributed in 1853 to a Syracuse paper. Fiske had only just become associated with Mr. Joseph G. Cogswell, the intelligent superintendent of the Astor Library. What influence this association may have had upon his ideas of library administration does not clearly appear. The

articles in question referred to the library of an organization in Syracuse styled the "Franklin Institute," and assume the form of an appeal to the directors. One must remember that it was then the day of small things. The youthful critic, aged 22, begins:

In addressing to you the following remarks concerning the library whose capacities for good you direct and guide, you will see in my words only an honest desire to enlarge those capacities, and to multiply the benefits which your institution is already conferring upon the community. With the exception of the Library of the Court of Appeals, which does not belong to the City, but to the State, and whose benefits are conferred upon, and confined to, a particular class, yours is the largest collection of books of which this town of thirty thousand inhabitants can boast. It combines at once, and that, too, of necessity, the character of a library of reference and of circulation. It is the only one to which the numerous students in our offices, the large number of our educated citizens, who now and then see fit to write a newspaper article, an essay, or a lecture, and the few persons in our midst who have leisure or inclination for literary research, can refer. For the settlement of a point in discussion, for the explanation and further understanding of a lecture, for the full comprehension of a book, this is the sole source of intelligence to which the inquisitive man can have access. On the other hand, in its character of a loaning library, though materially aided by our dozen or more school libraries, it is still superior to most of these, not only in the number, but in the quality, of its volumes.

As it seems to me, this double character of your collection should always be kept in view—that is, as a library of consultation, research, and study, and as a library of reading, light instruction, and intelligent amusement; or in other words, as a reference and circulating library. In the older parts of the world, where the needs of literature are better known, and a taste for letters is

more felt, these two distinctions form separate classes of libraries; but this cannot become the general case here, until our young nation has grown up to a sense of literary wants and a willingness to supply them. Let us look a little into the two divisions of your library, regarding them in the broad, liberal, and enlightened light which should belong to the investigations of men professing to the title (there is no nobler one) of scholars.

*As a Library of Reference.*—In regard to the capabilities, necessities, and requisites of a collection of this kind, I shall do little more than iterate the opinions of men who have made books and book collections their study and pursuit. As guardians of such a collection, you ought not to reject, but carefully preserve, every issue of the great Gutenberg's invention, from the most magnificent and voluminous of encyclopedias, down to the apparently most insignificant of concert bills. You labor not only for your own day and sphere, but for a never-ending after-world. Unlike preceding ages, our times are daily producing materials for their own history. Newspapers, magazines, reviews, and a myriad other combinations of paper and ink, forming the so-called transient literature, are exceeding, in a vast measure, all other productions of the press. The historian of our age will have to consult no mouldy manuscripts, to pore over no partial and erroneous compilations of prejudiced predecessors, to decipher no crumbling inscriptions; but he will find the ideas of all parties and sects, the annals of all events, the lives of all public men, spread out before him—a reflex of the age and embodiment of its spirit—in our periodical literature. His only task will be to discriminate, criticise, and elaborate. But in order to make this the case, we must take good care to preserve the material. I have often endeavored, in vain, to procure files of county newspapers only a decade back, and that, too, in the very town of their publication. How would it be possible to write the history of our own City, embracing little more than a quarter of a century, without its newspapers? And yet I have no doubt that some difficulty



would be experienced in obtaining complete files of all these chroniclers and exponents of our progress. Nor is it the historian alone for whom such as these should be carefully preserved. Almost daily instances arise in a large City like this, when it becomes necessary to refer for the elucidation of some fact or circumstance to files of old newspapers. As to magazines and reviews, they generally contain matter of sufficient interest to warrant their careful preservation, aside from such reasons as are given above.

The minor productions of the press are also of great value. How much would we not give for a perfect set of theatre bills, public and private advertisements, placards and the like, extending through some years of the sixteenth, seventeenth, or eighteenth centuries? What light they would throw upon the mode of life, manners, and customs of those days, of which we are now either entirely ignorant or grossly misinformed? What doubts now clouding many important events of those ages would be dispelled! The third chapter of Macaulay's brilliant *History*, is in a great manner, derived from such seemingly unimportant sources. The most valuable and useful private library of this country is that of Peter Force, Esq., of Washington City, consisting of American newspapers, printed bills, etc.; and for its size, the most important public collection is that of the New York Historical Society, made up of the same matter.

Never reject a work on account of its sectarian or partisan tendency; nor on any ground, except that of bare-faced immorality. You need not purchase such works, but never refuse them when gratuitously offered. In this country of free thought and unchained opinion, no such effort can stay the progress of a sect, or prevent the advance of a party. The most distinguished bibliographer and bibliothecal genius of America says: "A public library needs every book which it does not possess."

It is extremely necessary to have good catalogues, well arranged, plainly written, easily used, and always accessible. One should



be alphabetical, another analytical. These are the more necessary, because volumes on your shelves are so covered that the titles are not visible.

Most important of all is the selection of a good librarian—one possessing at least some knowledge of his profession. What would be thought of a board of railroad directors who should appoint a superintendent that could hardly distinguish a passenger car from a baggage wagon? With as much propriety could you choose a Librarian to manage this part of your Institution at this, the most important stage of its existence—its infancy—who was entirely ignorant of all bibliographical rules, of all professional skill or bibliothecal experience, and of all library history. A zealous, well-educated Librarian, versed in the things and duties appertaining to his calling, could easily add scores of volumes to the Library annually, at little or no cost to himself or the Institution. There are great numbers of public bodies, learned societies, governments, etc., both in this country and Europe, which publish hundreds of interesting and valuable books, which could be had almost for the asking. There are also many other ways known to proficients in the bibliothecal profession of procuring books, engravings, etc., at an insignificant expense. He could also easily add to the reputation of the Library, and in a proportionate manner increase the diffusion of its benefits. So that it would ultimately be a matter of economy for you to appropriate a little more for the hire of an intelligent and qualified Librarian, and a little less to the purchase of books. Not only the present prosperity and usefulness, but the future benefit and permanent continuance of the collection, depend upon your action in this respect.

*As a Loaning Library.*—Looking at your collection on the side of its usefulness, several things are necessary of close and continual notice—care in the purchase and arrangement of books; care in the accounts of the Library with the borrowers; care in the preservation of your volumes, and of the reviews,

magazines, etc.; care in the order and neatness of the reading and library rooms.

With the small fund at your disposal, too much discrimination and calculation in the purchase of additions cannot be recommended. Works of history, biography, travels, and science are the main wants. Books of lighter tone are generally in this country issued in such large editions, and at so little cost, that most persons desiring them can buy or borrow them without inconvenience. By a careful consideration of the class of books most loaned, an experienced librarian could readily understand the necessities and tastes of the borrowers and public. A portion of your funds, as they from time to time come into your hands from the proceeds of lectures, etc., ought to be expended in completing such valuable works as are already on your shelves in an imperfect and defective state; a part, too, of your available receipts should go to the binding or preservation of the various reviews, magazines, periodicals, newspapers, pamphlets, etc., to which you have subscribed, or which have been received in gift. Such things lying unavailable for loaning or use are like money invested in stock that pays no interest.

As soon as a collection attains to the number of fifteen hundred or so volumes, the alphabetical arrangement should always yield to the scientific. The former is admirably adapted to small libraries, but is extremely inconvenient in one of any size. But what shall be thought of yours where no method prevails but a systematic want of all systems—where a light novel is followed by a heavy history, and a book of travels succeeds to a government report? Let a library and its catalogues be properly systematized, and more than one-half of the wear and injury of the books, more than one-half of the care and exertion attendant upon their proper preservation and use, could be easily avoided.

The very existence of a circulating library depends upon the accuracy of the accounts kept with the borrowers of books. It

is the only manner of securing the collection from exterior injury and diminution, and the only way by which the utility and requisites of the library can be judged. No librarian, no system, can be too rigid or exact in this respect. Look at your account-books and tell me of the man who would not rather attempt the solution of the unsolved riddle of the sphinx than try to draw up a report or extract statistics from such hieroglyphically unsystematized documents.

Recollecting the number of hands through which your books, and especially your periodicals, must pass, too many safeguards against injury and loss can hardly be employed. Strong bindings, airy shelves, clean tables, and a watchful eye are among the things absolutely indispensable in a loaning library. Not only should filing-rods be employed for newspapers, but also (of a different shape) for magazines, reviews, etc. If you examine a copy of a periodical which has lain less than a month upon your tables, you will fully recognize the necessity of this.

Continual quiet and the strictest cleanliness and order in the room I must take the liberty of urgently pressing upon your notice. The noise of boys and dogs, the conversation of men, the accumulation of dust, the disarrangement, though but temporary, of the books, etc., should all be prevented. As to the transaction of other business besides the legitimate aims and ends of the Institution in your rooms—this must continue to be the case so long as you are unable to pay a sustaining salary to a librarian. But this business should always be something appertaining to books—some literary agency or the like—and ought to be carried on, not in the library or reading room, but in some adjoining apartment.

A hundred other suggestions, readily apparent to every one in any way bibliothecally informed, might be given. But space and time forbid.

AMATOR LIBRORUM



From 1859 to 1860 Fiske was General Secretary of the American Geographical Society. In 1857 the *American Chess Monthly* was founded, which he edited in conjunction with Paul Morphy from 1857 to 1860; and he compiled the *Book of the First American Chess Congress*. The Congress was held in New York in 1857. Mr. Fiske's library of rare chess works was described in 1857 as "second to but one in the country."

He had been connected with the United States Legation, Copenhagen, 1850-1851; and became attaché to the United States Legation at Vienna in 1861 and 1862, under Motley, who was specially attracted, as the report ran, by Fiske's admirable calligraphy.

Between 1859 and 1863 he was a contributor to Appleton's *New American Cyclopaedia*. Among the articles from his pen were those on the language and literature of Iceland, the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. The one on Sweden and another on the periodical literature of the world were specially noteworthy for their range and thoroughness.

Later he was connected with the *Syracuse Daily Journal*. His contributions to this paper covered many subjects and were characterized by the same excellent qualities of style and composition which have uniformly distinguished his literary work. Of much local interest were his investigations into the pre-revolutionary history of a region which had been explored by Jesuit fathers. His editorial on the death of Lincoln, struck off at white heat, had a wide vogue in the American newspaper press



and was reprinted at intervals by periodicals and by associations such as the "Grand Army of the Republic."

In 1867 he was invited to join the staff of the *Hartford Courant*, connected with which were also his old friends Senator Joseph R. Hawley and Charles Dudley Warner. In 1868 he again traveled abroad, visiting Egypt and Palestine, when he received a call to be Professor of North-European Languages, and Librarian, in the newly founded Cornell University.

During his early years at Cornell Professor Fiske gave instruction not only in German but also in Swedish, Danish, and Icelandic; and Mr. Harris, the late lamented librarian of the university, has said that he attended Professor Fiske's classes in Persian, a language which the latter was already investigating while in the Astor Library. A special course was also delivered on journalism, which contained material of much practical value.

His knowledge of Dutch was a somewhat late acquisition; but the study of Italian, French, German, and Russian he pursued during the first sojourn in Denmark, at the time when he was mastering the Scandinavian tongues, the study of which he had begun during his first year in college.

Professor Fiske held decided views about the propriety of associating professors in the full administration of university affairs. In an earlier will, executed July 5, 1883, one condition of his large bequests to Cornell University was that "at least one professor of Cornell University (besides the President) should be elected a

trustee of said University within one year after his decease." Unless such should be the case, "the legacies were to be offered on the same conditions to Harvard College, Yale College, Columbia College, and Union College in turn and in the order here given." It is interesting to note in this connection that recently, on the independent initiative of President Schurman, Cornell has voluntarily adopted this policy in a much more liberal measure.

Professor Fiske was an ardent member of the Psi Upsilon fraternity, for which he became an admirable volunteer historiographer and poet, and he remembered it liberally in his will. He was also joint editor of one of the fraternity's comprehensive catalogues.

Of civil service reform he was long a persistent advocate with voice and pen, in the days of George William Curtis and his fellow-workers.

Iceland he visited in 1879. At the time of the millennial celebration in 1874 of the colonization of Iceland, Fiske was specially energetic in arousing in this country general interest in the event by frequent articles in the press, and by making a collection of books to be donated to the national library at Reykjavík. His own later visit to the distant island, where he was literally made the people's guest, was the signal for a reception almost overwhelming in its grateful friendliness. But his interest in this isolated island had an older origin. His early collection of Icelandic books, after his first European tour, was then rated the most considerable in the United States; and his first love in languages,

despite many wanderings far afield, remained his latest. Evidence of this early attachment is shown in a letter to the Icelandic scholar and politician Sigurðsson, dated Copenhagen, August 25, 1852. A copy of the original, which is preserved in the National Library at Reykjavík, was secured for the writer by Mr. Halldór Hermannsson.

"I am deeply and truly interested in Iceland," writes the lad of twenty. "I see in the small but noble people which inhabit it the same flesh, blood, and spirit as my own nation is made of, and the same elements which compose the English and American character. I wish that the future of your wonderful island may be as truly glorious as its past, and it shall be one of the chief aims of my life and action to conduce to the advancement in every way of its literature and political importance."

Mr. Fiske was a member of various organizations, including the University and Players clubs of New York, and the National Institute of Arts and Letters. He was one of only three or four American members of the Reform Club of London; and it was intimated to him by English friends that, if desired, an election to the Athenaeum Club would be assured. After his withdrawal from Cornell, overtures were made to him regarding an honorary professorship at Harvard.

In 1892 the King of Italy, Humbert I, bestowed upon him the title of "Cavaliere dell' ordine (equestre) della Corona d'Italia"; and in 1902 he received from Christian IX of Denmark the title of "Ridder af Dannebrogordenen." The significance of these two orders lies chiefly in the recognition of the wide extent of his literary



sympathies. Not less sincere a tribute than these was the accolade of the old dahabiyeh owner on the Nile: "After Mohammed—Mr. Fiske!"

It was the Italian Prime Minister Crispi who caused the intimation to reach Professor Fiske that a countship would await him in return for the assurance that his great book collections would remain permanently in Italy; but Cornell was a more powerful magnet.

In 1880 occurred his marriage to Miss Jennie McGraw, who died in 1881. In 1883, on account of the suit against the university involving his wife's bequest, he resigned his offices at Cornell and took up his permanent residence in Florence, Italy. There, for two decades, in the attractive and historic villas which he successively occupied, he dispensed a hospitality which was as lavish and thoughtful as it was unassuming; while unremitting until the very day of his death was his devotion to intellectual pursuits.

Among these pursuits, a passing mention must be made of one engrossing occupation of his later years—the effort to popularize and establish in Egypt a Romanized alphabet of the Arabic language. The circular issued by the Cornell University Library runs as follows:

To this end he began by issuing, in 1893, a vocabulary of some seven thousand words in modern Arabic in the new transcription, with many grammatical examples. This he freely distributed and followed it up with other pamphlets, notably one in 1897, entitled *An Egyptian Alphabet for the Egyptian People*, explaining the alphabet and giving illustrative readings. Shortly before his death, he issued, in 1904, a second and enlarged edition of *An*



*Egyptian Alphabet for the Egyptian People*, it being his intention to distribute this, together with numerous cards, sheets, and leaflets, containing the alphabet, spelling exercises, and short stories suitable for use in the schools, as widely as possible in Egypt, in order to familiarize the people with the Roman transliteration of their own speech. It was the opinion of competent scholars that the adoption of this alphabet would do much to hasten the extension of knowledge and universal education in Egypt. But the difficulties in the way were great and with Mr. Fiske's death the enterprise came to a standstill.

Cornell University, as the residuary legatee, came into possession of these undistributed publications, and, though it has been found impracticable to continue the propaganda begun by Mr. Fiske, it is thought that some libraries may be glad to obtain sets of these publications, not only as a record of an altruistic and generous attempt to educate and benefit the common people of Egypt, but also as illustrating an interesting and instructive experiment in the transcription of a spoken language.

About four hundred of these sets have already been distributed among the libraries of the world.

Mr. Fiske's miscellaneous writings were numerous and varied. An enumeration of them would here be unnecessary. Many have already appeared, and of these some are to be reprinted; while others are to be printed for the first time.

Noteworthy in their variety and extent were the expressions of sorrow and esteem at the time of his decease. Obituary notices appeared in many languages, including Italian, German, Arabic, and the Scandinavian tongues. "The munificent bibliographer," so Guido Biagi, Librarian of the Laurentian, describes him.

Another from the far north writes:

The memory of the deceased will be dear to those who knew him best, and by the Icelandic nation it ought never to be forgotten, because so sincere was his affection for Iceland that it is doubtful whether ever a foreign heart beat more warmly for its welfare.

His old friend Wendell Phillips Garrison wrote in *The Nation*:

Mr. Fiske's nature was essentially modest, simple and trustful, ardent, persistent, generous—in his day of small things as in his prosperity; and his attachments were deep and lasting.

In private letters written soon after Mr. Fiske's death, Alfred Austin, the Poet Laureate, who had "often enjoyed the kind hospitality of the learned owner of the Villa Landor," thus records his own candid estimate of his host:

I held him in no little affection and regard, as must every one have done who knew him intimately. His goodness and superior intelligence and interest in all the higher intellectual pursuits added enormously to intercourse with him. . . . I will gladly add my testimony to that of others concerning the sincerity of his nature, and the noble simplicity of his life.

In the *Library Journal* of October, 1904, his long-time associate and successor, Mr. George W. Harris, characterizes Mr. Fiske as "librarian, bibliographer, and bibliophile." Mr. Harris wrote:

At the time of his appointment as librarian in the newly founded Cornell University the college libraries were looked upon as mere storehouses, from which books might be taken for home reading, and as a rule were open for only one or two hours on

certain days in the week. Mr. Fiske's ideal of a university library was a reference library, like the Bodleian or the Astor, which should be the literary workshop of the university and afford the greatest possible facilities to earnest students in their researches. Accordingly, the university library was made primarily a reference library; from the first it was open nine hours daily, and he used to take pride in saying that it was kept open longer hours than any other university in the land. Under his wise guidance the policy of building up a great reference library was steadily pursued, though often under trying conditions. By gift or purchase the valuable libraries of such scholars as Goldwin Smith, Franz Bopp, Charles Anthon, and Jared Sparks were secured for the university, and vigorous efforts were made to obtain larger and more regular appropriations for the increase of the library. . . . Generous and warm-hearted, modest and unassuming, gifted with a winning manner, Willard Fiske easily found his way to men's hearts and made many firm and constant friends, whom he loved to gather around his board, and by whom his death is deeply lamented. In his bibliographical work he was insistent upon the minutest accuracy and indefatigable in following up every possible clue to the knowledge he sought. As a librarian he had little sympathy with what has been aptly called the "frying-pan ideal" of the library, or with those who look upon books as so many brickbats to be scattered broadcast as rapidly as possible. He had the greatest sympathy for the needs of earnest students, and took pleasure in encouraging beginners in the work of research. He loved books with a scholar's love, and his greatest desire was to have his collection used by scholars.

His valuable book collections, which were presented to the Cornell University Library, related to Dante, to Petrarch, to Icelandic History and Literature, and to the Rhaeto-Romanic language. Besides the great collections which have enriched Cornell University, that



institution has also received from his estate a fund for the uses and purposes of the library of more than half a million dollars.

Two books stand upon my own shelves which are among my earliest and most valued possessions. One, a copy in German of Hans Christian Andersen's *Tales*, has the inscription "From D. W. F. 1863." The other, a Postage Stamp Album, bestowed a year later for some slight scholastic performance, contains, after the writer's name, the inscription: "On his 300th Birthday, from D. W. F." The interpretation of this pleasantry was that on the same day, namely in 1564, Shakespeare happened to arrive.

The personal significance of these two volumes, if the personal note may be permitted and pardoned in this tribute to an old friend and counselor, lies in the coincidence that the first was a gift from the man who taught the writer German orally and peripatetically years before Cornell University was opened, and whose successor in his chair of German there the writer afterward became; while the second volume was an illustration, not only of the donor's perennial interest in the education of youth, but also of his own inveterate propensity to collect, and to encourage collectors.

What a keen scent had he for hidden book treasures, or lost manuscripts, or for any latent or remote possibilities in either direction! What consideration even for trifling publications or unimportant references, if only they might serve to complete the dot above the *i*.



Fortunate was his companion upon one of those still hunts which would lead him into remote and foreign corners. Delightful the avidity with which he would pursue some faint and elusive clue. Witness his pertinacity in the search for the missing manuscript of Lewis Rou. How amusing the shamefaced glee with which he would announce some preposterous bargain! Disarming envious criticism was the almost boyish naïveté of his pride and joy of attainment and possession. What true collector will not comprehend and sympathize, and condone?

Concluding this somewhat discursive résumé of Mr. Fiske's various activities, may we not fairly maintain that his tastes and training destined him to become a lover of books, and a patient and conscientious bibliographer, as well as a most charming bibliomaniac? He had the collector's instincts and desires, and followed and indulged them from the days of his straitened youth to the period of his opulent old age. He had the linguistic equipment and range which allowed him to pursue his quarry intelligently into diverse fields, and to negotiate independently in the book marts from Iceland to Egypt. His literary sense was developed from the first days of his European travels; excursions which were illustrated by attractive communications to the American press that were not mere echoes of Bayard Taylor's "Views Afoot" of the preceding decade. Secretarial and editorial work gave opportunity for the perfecting of a facile and fluent style which was as finished

and graceful in his published productions as it was sportive and fascinating in his private correspondence. Rarely, if ever, did any slovenly phraseology, even upon a postal card, slip from his pen. He had the feeling for form; and this is peculiarly perceptible in the many verses of his composition which were more often printed than they were published.

That accuracy in line and precept which is eminently essential in the work of the librarian and bibliographer, he had acquired through his apprenticeship in the Astor Library, in various newspaper offices, and in the construction of his contributions to Appleton's *Cyclopaedia*. He had a passion for accurate and exhaustive detail. The incomplete manuscripts of his dictionary of Icelandic and his Arabic grammar illustrate the same qualities; while his German reader, in the judicious range of its selection and the carefulness of its compilation has not been surpassed by any of its successors. This is not the place to estimate the value or the importance of his miscellaneous writings. My effort has merely been to outline somewhat cursorily the nature of his qualifications as a subject worthy of the attention of this society of experts. This gratifying tribute, indeed, of your recognition, he would perhaps himself have hastened to disclaim, for he was as modest in respect of his own merits as he was generous as a patron and a friend.





MR. FISKE'S LIBRARY IN THE VILLA FORINI FLORENCE



## WILLARD FISKE AS A BIBLIOGRAPHER

BY MARY FOWLER

Curator of the Dante and Petrarch Collections, Cornell University Library

The preceding paper presented by Professor White describes Willard Fiske as student, foreign attaché, librarian, teacher, editor, book-collector. Friends of his later years were perhaps wont to think of him as a gentleman of leisure, adding to the pleasure of sojourners in Florence by the exercise of an unstinted hospitality; this seemed to be his occupation, one of his chief recreations being the search for and purchase of rare books in fields of his especial interest. We of the present gathering accord him a juster recognition as an indefatigable book-man, not only, as a matter of course, during the years of his public library service, but even more emphatically and more significantly in his contribution to the development of letters during the years of his emancipation from office. It is not the man of unoccupied leisure who writes:

"I have a perfect ocean of work to do this coming week, and have begun to get up at six o'clock. My room is fairly running over with packages of books which have arrived while absent at Venice, Padua, etc., some to be returned, many to be catalogued and prepared for the binder." And again: "I am still hammering away pretty busily at bibliography. I find that the collector of even two such small libraries as mine has little time for

anything else. The reading of catalogues, correspondence with booksellers, cataloguing, and binding occupy all of his hours."

The listing of books, indispensable accompaniment of book-collecting, was then not always delegated to others by this wealthy scholar, who was too much in earnest to bother about hunting out a scribe; and the list was pretty sure to be packed with notes of matters unknown to scribes. Such a list is preserved in the second of the *Bibliographical Notices: Handlist of Petrarch editions in the Florentine Public Libraries* (1886), with fine print notes "indicating the extent of the deficiencies of Florentine libraries," as he explains in the prefatory note, taking up a good third of the space. The notes brim with lore of editions *in* and *out* of Florentine libraries, most of them in his own studio in the Villa Forini. For example, of the much noticed *Carmina incognita* published by G. M. Thomas in 1859 he says:

The 114 sonnets and the canzone attributed by the editor of this volume to Petrarch were reprinted the same year as an appendix to an edition of the *Rime* issued at Turin. That they were not productions of Petrarch was demonstrated by B. Veratti in the Modenese *Opuscoli religiosi, letterarj e morali*, ser. ii, tomo x., pp. 71-94 (1867).<sup>1</sup>

The notes of the *Handlist* exhibit the collector's true joy in the accumulation of bibliographical knowledge in his chosen field, through personal handling of the volumes acquired.

<sup>1</sup> P. 10, col. 2.

Mr. Fiske had already printed his *Catalogue of Petrarch Books* (1882)<sup>1</sup> which he mentions as "hurriedly prepared and printed privately solely with the view of facilitating the increase of the collection." With the Icelandic and Petrarch collections approximating completeness, as such things go, and manuscript author catalogues prepared, he continued his bibliographical activities unhampered by economies of time or expense. It was in the artist's spirit, yet with no disregard of the exactness demanded by scientific description, that he undertook the preparation of the other *Bibliographical Notices*—the supplements to the *British Museum Catalogue of Books Printed in Iceland Down to 1844* (1886-1890) and (No. III) the "Essay, to be regarded," he says in the preliminary note, "as a chapter of the still unprinted second catalogue of my Petrarch collection": Francis Petrarch's Treatise *De remediis utriusque fortunæ* (1888). This "Essay" of 48 two-column pages of practically solid matter, with unparagraphed notes filling often two, sometimes three and a half columns under a single title (themselves meriting the title "Essays"), not to mention the collation, giving fold, folios, signatures, quires, type, columns, lines, size of the type-page, size of the leaf, size of the title-page and the title-page vignette (e.g., ". . . . the vignette represents the wheel of fortune with four attached figures, of which the uppermost is a king—a

<sup>1</sup> Professor Fiske contributed a list of "Petrarch Bibliographies," describing four in manuscript (1835-1874) and twelve in printed works (1722-1877), to the first number of the *Bulletin of the Cornell University Library*, January 1882, pp. 42-43.



design not uncommon in early modern art, but which was first executed with consummate skill by Hans Burgkmaier in his *De remediis* title-pages" or " . . . the numeration of folios is very defective, running: 4 unnumbered, 1-15, 15, 17-23, 23-41, 41, 43, 43, 45-62, 64, 64, 64, 66-88, 92, 92, 91, 92-113" . . . and so on, through the 276 leaves), with list of contents, with certain introductory poems in full, and specimen selections from the text—this "Essay" was, for one thing, the despair of the prospective compiler of the other chapters of the "unprinted second catalogue of the Petrarch collection." Her deliverance, it may be added, was finally effected by beneficent economic considerations, under whose operation the matter elaborated in *Bibliographical Notices*, No. III was reduced from 88 to 27 columns.

The bibliographer's absorption in the volume in hand as he aims to set forth completely and bring to the intelligence of the student its style and quality, his painstaking representation letter by letter, point by point, of title and colophon, his unwearied inquiry into the fame and fortunes of its various makers, whether author, translator, patron, or printer, have an element of religious ardor; one thinks of the celebrant of an elaborate ritual. Curious instances result from Mr. Fiske's invariable practice of reproducing every word on the title-page, as in the following (p. 26, no. 52):

*Petrarch's view / of / human life. / By Mrs. Dobson. /—/ Go,  
little book! to the friends of humanity, and to / the lovers of Petrarch,  
and let their honourable/and united suffrage spread the fame of his*



*ex-/alted knowledge, and impress the virtues of his benevolent heart.*  
/ London:/printed for John Stockdale, Piccadilly./M.DCCXCI.

The title of a later edition follows, and the little book is again exhorted to *go*. A camera would reproduce the title-page more perfectly, but the photographic copy loses a certain element of interest in eliminating the human touch marking the earlier products of bibliography. Mr. Madan says:<sup>1</sup> "The object of bibliography is to bring a book or set of books, in their absence, as much as possible before the student." This standard, never absent from the purpose and method of Mr. Fiske, does not fully indicate the character of his work. For one must in describing it take account of personality. The book in hand was to him a vital, throbbing thing into which had entered the qualities of its makers, and each one of these, coming into the bibliographer's acquaintance, must be properly introduced to readers of his work. Reading from title to title is like passing from room to room, each with its group of interesting individuals.

In the final note on his copy, which is thought to be unique, of the only known Dutch translation of Petrarch's *De remediis* he says:

The volume contains no indication of the name or residence of the translator; that he was not a scholar of the highest note or ability may be inferred from such a form as *Petrarchus*, and from his treatment of certain Latin words. . . . Equally notable is the fact that the name of Jan Willemszoon [the publisher] occurs in none of the lists of Amsterdam publishers. The expression

<sup>1</sup> *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, 1, 91.

*Ghedrukt voor* on the title-page seems to imply that he was not the printer, but the bookseller or publisher.

Thus the vanishing figures of anonymous translator and unknown publisher do not escape a recorded estimate.

The manner in which Mr. Fiske's imagination was brought into exercise over the solution of knotty questions is illustrated in the explanation given to the date at the end of the *Bucolicum carmen* in Simon Bevilaqua's edition of the Collected Works of Petrarch,<sup>1</sup> where the words: *per me Marcum horigono de Venet. Annis. d. nostri Iesu christi: currentibus. M.CCCCXVI. Die. vii. Iulii* afford a real bibliographical puzzle. This is the note, with some abridgment:

Simon de Gabis called Bevilaqua of Pavia . . . . went from Pavia, probably his native place, to Venice, where he issued his

<sup>1</sup> *Catalogue of Petrarch Books*, p. 20. The following letter accompanied a copy of *A Catalogue of Petrarch Books* (Ithaca, 1882), sent to Professor Charles Eliot Norton, and now in the Harvard Library:

Cornell University Library  
Ithaca, June 1st, 1883

MY DEAR SIR:

A thousand thanks for your kind and considerate offer of the Bevilaqua (1503) edition of Petrarch's collected works, but I already possess an excellent copy. By this post I venture to send you a very hastily made catalogue of my collection, as it was last November, since which time I have added to it nearly 800 volumes. On page 20 you will find an attempted explanation of the puzzling date 1416, affixed to the *Bucolicum carmen* at the end of the 1503 edition.

I shall enclose Count Galletti's letter to Mr. Macaulay.

The Villa Forini will at least not lose its Scandinavian attractions as I also take with me my Icelandic collection, the gathering of which, instead of being, as is the Petrarch collection, a whimsy of my old age, has been the work of many years. I hope to do some work with both these collections, but the danger is that I may fall between two very attractive stools. With great regard

Most truly yours,  
WILLARD FISKE

MR. NORTON

first book, an edition of Terence, in 1485. . . . The same year he transferred his press to Vicenza. . . . Two years later he is again at Venice, and from 1492 prints several books a year (except in 1495-6) until after the century's end. In 1502 . . . appeared the earliest of the colophons reading *In officina Simonis Bevilaqua* . . . leaving little doubt that Bevilaqua was no longer superintending his own press. In fact, it seems certain that his death took place about this time, for the only work after this date which bears his imprint is the present 1503 edition of Petrarch's Works. This bulky volume had doubtless been for several months in the press, and the demise or disability of the press's proprietor before its completion would naturally affect its fate. But its printing evidently went on, and by the middle of the year (July 15) the great Petrarch was apparently finished and Bevilaqua's usual colophon appended to what is surely the most important work of his press. How long, in the process of settling the printer's estate, the sheets may have lain before actual publication it is impossible to know. The rival edition of Simon de Luere had appeared in the middle (June 17) of the year 1501, and this may have influenced in some way the destiny of the Bevilaqua edition. When, at last, it was determined by somebody—possibly the guardians of the estate or its creditors—that the book must be published and sold, it was discovered that one important portion of Petrarch's writings, the *Bucolicum carmen*, had not been included. A manuscript of the omitted poems, with a commentary by Petrarch's correspondent, Benvenuto, was perhaps hastily procured and as hastily prepared for the press under no especially skilled supervising eye. It was given to the compositors, who set it up, and with it the name of the commentator, and of the old copyist—Origono, or Horigono—who, nearly a hundred years before, had attached to the manuscript his name and the date [1416] at which he had finished the transcript, which was not an uncommon thing for a scribe of those days to do.



Thus the "noble art of guessing," commended to his students by the late Professor Corson as a useful aid in translation, is of service to the bibliographer as well.

Enjoyment of the book, pleasure in tracing the fortunes of the persons concerned in its production, interest in communicating these delights to his congenial reader—these are characteristic traits seldom missing from any page. It is perhaps well for the development of bibliography in general that its makers are tethered by the economic considerations mentioned above, as well as by the requirements of a rational standardization, so much emphasized as time goes on. But there is refreshment of spirit in conning the well-wrought lines of this book-lover unhampered in the exercise of the art by which he gave to others out of his store of knowledge, gathered by labor which was, from first to last, *con amore*.



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MR. FISKE'S LIBRARY IN THE VILLA FORINI, FLORENCE

## WILLARD FISKE AND ICELANDIC BIBLIOGRAPHY

BY HALLDÓR HERMANNSSON

About 1840 some interest was awakened in this country in the Old Icelandic literature in connection with Professor Rafn's publication of the sources on the discovery of the American Continent by the Norsemen; this will be seen from several articles and reviews which at that time appeared in various American periodicals. With most people the curiosity stopped at that. But there was at least one man who carried farther his interest in the languages and the literatures of the North. This was George Perkins Marsh, who made quite a notable collection of books in that field and from whose active pen there came in 1838 a translation of Rask's Icelandic grammar, a most useful work at that time, and one which had considerable influence upon the career of a young student in Hamilton College, Daniel Willard Fiske.

Through the study of Rask's grammar Fiske acquired some insight into the Icelandic language, and through a few other English works his interest in the literature and traditions of Iceland was aroused. Among these books were the Percy-Blackwell rendering of Mallet's *Northern Antiquities* (3d edition, 1847), Carlyle's essays on Odin in *On Heroes and Hero Worship*, and perhaps also Sir Walter Scott's paraphrase of the *Eyrbyggja saga*.

In 1849, in his eighteenth year, Fiske left college and went to Copenhagen, a great undertaking for an impecunious youth in those early days. In Copenhagen he soon became acquainted with Carl Christian Rafn, who still directed the activities of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries. Fiske, I believe, did some translating for the Society. There also he made his first Icelandic acquaintances, among whom were Jón Sigurðsson, the political leader and scholar, for whom he always expressed the greatest admiration, and Gísli Brynjúlfsson, who was his first teacher in Icelandic. Most of his time was, however, spent at the University of Upsala until he returned to America in 1852. He planned to make a trip to Iceland at that time, but it had to be abandoned. He had acquired a good knowledge of the languages and literatures of the Scandinavian nations, but he always was most interested in Iceland.

Soon after Fiske's return his collection of books on Iceland and Icelandic literature became known as the best of its kind in the United States. Journalism and academic duties occupied most of Fiske's time during the following years, and it was not until about 1874, the year of Iceland's millennial celebration, that we find him again in active communication with Icelanders. His interest in this jubilee and the articles he wrote about it made his name known to the general public in Iceland, so that when he visited that country five years later, for the first and the only time, he was given a warm welcome by the people, and on his travels there found hospitality everywhere.



Before his leaving Iceland even the farmers of the neighborhood of Reykjavík invited him to a banquet, because, as they said, they wished to pay their respects to him like the other classes. At that time Fiske knew Icelandic well, and spoke it with comparative ease. Seldom before had there been a foreign visitor in Iceland who met with such a welcome and who became so acquainted with the people in general as did Fiske. I recall one exception which must be mentioned here, that of Konrad Maurer, of Munich, who traveled there in the summer of 1858, and who of all foreigners remained the most profound student of Icelandic matters, ancient and modern. He and Fiske later became close friends through their common interest in Iceland.

A few years after Fiske's visit to Iceland he resigned his academic positions in Cornell University and went to Europe to live. He could thenceforth devote himself exclusively to his books and studies. Although he never revisited Iceland, he made several trips to the other Scandinavian countries and on them he met many Icelanders. His visits to the Scandinavian capitals generally had the purpose of collecting books and making studies in the libraries there. He invariably carried with him to Florence from such trips many additions to his Icelandic collection, which he kept there until the day of his death, when by his bequest it became the property of Cornell University.

There was nothing novel in the idea of bringing together an Icelandic library. We know how in the

seventeenth century the Danish and Swedish governments vied with one another in securing Icelandic manuscripts, the Danes by governmental letters urging prominent men in Iceland to send manuscripts to Copenhagen for the use of Danish scholars, the Swedes sending their agents to Iceland to purchase these treasures. Árni Magnússon was the greatest of these collectors; he had a real genius for collecting, and his official position as a royal commissioner gave him an excellent opportunity during his travels throughout the country to secure things which otherwise might never have been found. He also brought together a rich harvest of Icelandic printed books, probably a larger collection than anyone had made before him. Unfortunately these were practically all lost in the great fire of 1728.

A little later Ludvig Harboe, the Danish divine, who for a short time held the office of general inspector of the Icelandic dioceses, may be mentioned as a collector of Icelandic books. To him we owe the first printed list of books from the Icelandic press, incomplete to be sure, but nevertheless of considerable value. His large library was sold at auction in Copenhagen, and in the catalogue printed for the occasion there are some items of which no copy is now known.

The largest private collection of Icelandic books and works relating to Iceland before Fiske's was that of Jón Sigurðsson, to whom I have referred above. He began collecting shortly before the middle of the nineteenth century and continued it until his death in 1879. His library

and manuscripts were bought by the Icelandic government and passed after his death to the National Library in Reykjavík. This collection was of great value, made as it was with the owner's critical judgment, care, and unequalled knowledge of all Icelandic matters. There were also several smaller Icelandic collectors whose names it is not necessary to mention here. Outside of Iceland there have always been scholars who took pains to secure good libraries of the old literature of Iceland, but who cared little or nothing for the modern.

Public libraries are of recent origin in Iceland. A hundred years ago the National Library was founded and for a long time it has been entitled to two copies of everything which is printed in the country, and some of the smaller public libraries enjoy now the same privilege. But in this respect the Danish libraries—the Royal Library and the University Library of Copenhagen—had an earlier start; the order to deliver copies of all printed Icelandic books to them dates from the eighteenth century. For this and other reasons they possess in many respects a better collection of Icelandic books, especially of the earlier ones, than the Icelandic National Library.

These few points on Icelandic book-collecting I think are not out of place here. I need not dwell upon the collecting of modern Icelandic manuscripts, as it does not concern us in this connection, because Fiske never sought to buy or collect them. A few years before his death a good-sized manuscript collection was offered to him. He asked me to reply to the offer, saying that he did not want



it, as he preferred to see such collections remain in the country where the manuscripts originated and where they would be of most use. Shortly before a similar idea was expressed to me by Professor Konrad Maurer, himself owner of a good Icelandic library which has found its way to Harvard University. And on the whole I think it is a good rule and a wise one.

As mentioned above, Fiske began collecting Icelandic books about the middle of the nineteenth century. His purse was slim at that time and he probably was not able to buy many of the rarer or more expensive books.<sup>1</sup> After his visit to Iceland he commenced to buy on a larger scale and to make efforts to secure the rare and early books he wished to add to his library. But bibliographical guides were not always to be trusted.

As to the old literature he had good guides in Theodor Möbius' *Catalogus* of 1856 and the *Verzeichniss* of 1880. In respect to the modern literature the way was not clear. To be sure, there existed records of books printed in Iceland since the beginning of printing there, but they were incomplete and inaccurate. The oldest was Harboe's list, to which I have referred above. In his *Historia Ecclesiastica Islandiæ*, Bishop Finnur Jónsson has given lists of books issued from the Hólar press and of works by Ice-

<sup>1</sup>He wrote a brief description of his whole library for the *New York Evening Post*, April 27, 1857, which was afterward included in James Wynne's *Private Libraries of New York* (New York, 1860), pp. 187-196. It is evident from it that the Icelandic portion, which formed the nucleus of the collection now at Cornell, was at that time of a considerable size, although the number of volumes is not stated. Old books could then be bought at a much lower price than a quarter of a century later.



landic authors, whether printed in Iceland or abroad. Similar bibliographical record is to be found in Hálfðán Einarsson's *Sciagraphia historiæ literariæ Islandicæ*. But most of the titles were in both of these works translated into Latin, and were very brief and often incomplete and inaccurate; in many cases the information was not based upon the writer's own examination of the books in question, but upon the authority of earlier writers or other witnesses. It is easy to see that this led to inaccuracies and misstatements both as to titles and dates; nor did these records contain any description of the books beyond the brief title and the place and date of printing; the size was often given, but not the number of pages.

In the Danish dictionaries of authors considerable space was devoted to Icelandic writers with a list of their works; those by Worm and by Nyerup and Kraft contain much useful information, and a very full record, covering the earlier half of the nineteenth century, is to be found in T. H. Erslew's *Forfatter-Lexicon*, which is a model dictionary of authors. When Fiske visited Scandinavia all these works were his inseparable companions; they guided him in his book-collecting and he tested their accuracy by his researches in the libraries.

In the year 1877 Christian Bruun, the librarian of the Royal Library in Copenhagen, began the publication of *Bibliotheca Danica*, a systematic catalogue which includes all books printed in Denmark and Iceland before 1830 which are to be found in Danish libraries. Although this work does not fill all the demands we now make of a

bibliographical work, it is nevertheless very important and indispensable for students of Icelandic bibliography. It gives the titles, usually in abridged form, but no description of the books.

It was long before Fiske published anything about his bibliographical studies. In 1885 appeared T. W. Lidderdale's *Catalogue of the Books Printed in Iceland from 1578 to 1880, in the Library of the British Museum*. This was the best catalogue of Icelandic books so far printed. When Fiske received it he found that he owned many books which were not in it, and he decided to publish a description of them. In 1886 he issued *Bibliographical Notices I: Books Printed in Iceland 1578-1844; a Supplement to the British Museum Catalogue*. This was followed by a second supplement in 1889, a third in 1894, and a fourth published after the author's death in 1907, largely from his manuscript.

When the last list was printed the Fiske library had all but ten of the one hundred and seventy items described in the British Museum Catalogue, and in the four lists five hundred and forty-nine items, printed in Iceland during that period, were described. Fiske selected the years 1578-1844 because the first book in his possession was printed in 1578, but the latter date he chose because, as he says himself, "the removal of the then only existing printing-house in the island of Viðey to the capital, which was speedily followed by increased activity, by the establishment of other presses, and by marked changes in typographical methods, makes the date of that event a convenient stopping place."

By the publication of *Bibliographical Notices* a scientific basis was first laid for Icelandic bibliography. Fiske did not originate any novel bibliographical method, but for the first time in print he described Icelandic books in a thorough, scientific way. He gave the titles most minutely, analyzed the contents and described the make-up and the history of each book. By this he rendered a most valuable contribution to the history of printing in Iceland as well as to the literary history of the country. This was the only way to ascertain the number of books printed there and thus to correct, confirm, or refute, as the case might be, the earlier records.

In the preface to the first *Bibliographical Notices* he gave a historical survey of typographical peculiarities of Icelandic books, such as the use of different characters or types, abbreviations, signs, ornaments, and other customs in printing. He intended to write something fuller on the subject, but he never finished it. He did not publish any description of the numerous books in Icelandic or by Icelandic authors which were printed abroad, but confined his lists to those printed in the country and those which he owned.

He had, however, planned to publish a complete bibliographical record of all Icelandic books of the sixteenth century, and in preparation for that he issued a brief tentative list of such books as were known to him at the time. He collected in various libraries material for that purpose, but he never worked it out. This bibliography has now been written by another hand and printed in the annual volume of the Fiske Icelandic Collection, and I trust it is



written according to the principles he followed and as he would have liked to see it done. It is expected that similar bibliographical works will be published later so as to continue and complete the work which he originated and in which he took so great an interest.

I need not enter here into any description of the Icelandic Collection which Fiske brought together. Its richness can be seen from the catalogues of it which have recently been printed. Suffice it to say that it is the best of its kind, not only so far as Icelandic matters are concerned, but also in certain other lines which are not exclusively Icelandic. Thus it is very rich in books on Scandinavian mythology and runology. And its character and fulness reflects the care and thoroughness of its founder.

Fiske was a man of wide and accurate knowledge, and painstaking in everything to which he devoted himself. He was very quick in understanding things and in discerning the important and essential points when dealing with books. He worked hard at times and with enthusiasm on any subject he took up, but he had a tendency to work intermittently or to start on something new before he had completed what he had been working on. This was due to a certain restlessness, and it explains why, in spite of his enthusiasm and energy, he published little. But he was one of the most agreeable men to work with I have known. And what he has done for Icelandic bibliography is of permanent value.



## WILLARD FISKE IN ICELAND

BY PROVOST WILLIAM H. CARPENTER  
Columbia University

Professor Fiske's journey to Iceland in the summer of 1879 was in every sense a sentimental journey. He had long had it in mind. He had acquired an unusual knowledge of Iceland, its literature, and its history while a student in Sweden, and those early days had given him a peculiar interest that lasted through his life in the extraordinary happenings of the historical past—the romantic settlement of the island by the Norsemen, the socially and politically interesting rise of the free state, the prodigious unfolding of an unparalleled literature of prose and verse, of sagas and songs, that made of it a storehouse of memory of the ancient days of the whole Germanic race that otherwise had been lost and forgotten. He was interested, too, in the actual conditions of the land and people of the present, when to most of us Iceland is only a remote island that we know of vaguely as a land of frost and fire, as Carlyle has called it, and that we apprehend mistakenly as inhabited by a fur-clad people—who never wear furs—as remote from our intellectual sympathy and understanding as their island itself is remote from our ordinary journeyings.

Professor Fiske was almost, if not quite, the earliest of Americans to read Icelandic and actually to know at first hand Icelandic literature, and not only to his interest

in it, but to his knowledge of it, is due the considerable collection of Icelandic books that was got together at the old Astor Library while he was assistant librarian and which is now a valuable part of the great Public Library of New York. In 1874, when Iceland had a public and indeed an international celebration of the one-thousandth year of its settlement, he would have liked to go in person, as he often said, to participate in so memorable an event, but it could not be managed, and instead he got together by personal appeal to publishers and others a considerable collection of English books that were sent as a gift to the little capital of Reykjavík, and have today (for a great many Icelanders read English) an interesting and no doubt a useful and influential place in the public library of that small metropolis. During my own winter in Iceland, I used to give thanks, frequent and fervid, for this Fiske donation, since it helped me through the long dark days that settle down and stay down through weeks of forced inaction. Among others, I remember with gratitude a complete set of Captain Marryat that I never should have found leisure to read elsewhere, and whose perusal from beginning to end I now treasure up as a worth-while literary accomplishment.

To justify my own personal interest in things Icelandic and to explain my ultimate participation in the sentimental journey, I would state, in the first place, that I had become immensely interested in the Icelandic language and literature while a student at Cornell University, as did everybody who came at all under the

influence of Professor Fiske's enthusiastic teaching. When I went to Germany, as I did in 1878, to study further the whole historical field of the Germanic languages, I at once took up again the study of Icelandic, this time at Leipzig, with Anton Edzardi, early dead, and became, with a wider knowledge of it, more and more interested in its whole environment—what it had stood for in the past, and, increasingly, what it was at the present time. It was this latter aspect of the matter, in particular, that led me eagerly to seize the opportunity to join Professor Fiske and Arthur Reeves, a graduate of the class of 1878 at Cornell, in the proposed journey to Iceland, which Professor Fiske had written me from America they were about to undertake by way of Leith in Scotland, between which and Iceland there was regular steamship communication. As it fell out, they preceded me to Iceland, and instead of landing at Reykjavík they continued on the ship to Akureyri in the extreme north of the island and then came across the whole length of the land on ponyback to Reykjavík, where in the meantime I had arrived by the Danish mail ship "Phoenix" from Copenhagen.

The journey overland from Akureyri had been a veritable triumphal progress, so far as an Iceland journey could be with the daily halts at the widely isolated farmsteads and parsonages, but I only personally knew of its triumphant ending, for everywhere Professor Fiske was expected and received, not as the chance traveler who has come out of idle curiosity to spy out the land, but as



an honored guest who has been known only from afar and has now come to receive a gladly extended welcome.

The succeeding days in Reykjavík were days of entertainment—of dinners and teas at the governor's, the bishop's, and the dignitaries' of the administration, which were much like such social functions elsewhere, only the setting of the little village, with its beautiful outlook over the bay to the many-colored slopes of Esja in the distance and the snow-white cone of Snaefell rising out of the sea on the remote horizon, was different and distinctive, and our lodging in the one-storied black-tarred house was more distinctive still.

In August we set out for a journey up into the interior of the island with a relay of ponies, Gisli, the guide, and Valur, the sheep-dog, who had been brought from the north, and who looked with more than canine intelligence after the long line of loose ponies that made up our cavalcade. Icelandic ponies are short-legged, and in the centuries-old bridle paths, which are often worn deep into the ground, the stirrups are frequently knocked from the feet. Professor Fiske, however, had been provided with an unusually long-legged animal that the Duke of Hamilton had previously ridden on a tourist's tour to the Geysir, and I can still readily visualize him mounted high above us, and can recall how he descanted whimsically, as was his wont, on the advantage of being taller than his fellows, which those of you who knew him well will remember that under the ordinary circumstances of life he was not.



Traveling in Iceland is not the easy and comfortable matter that it is in many lands no farther off the beaten track. It is all on ponyback. There were no roads in our day, except the short stretch out of Reykjavík, but there was a network of bridle paths that had been used for generations. It is up hill and down dale, when it is not up mountain and down valley, and the snow line is very low, so that there are not infrequent interruptions of rain and hail on the heights and it is freezing cold. There were no bridges over the swift-running rivers, which had to be forded, or else by the seashore were crossed by ferry at their mouths, with the horses swimming head and tail in a long line behind.

It was all picturesque and interesting, but it needed at times some equanimity to carry it off, and the younger members of the party sometimes complained at what they got and what they did not get. Professor Fiske, however—and that was his inevitable characteristic as a traveler, for I have traveled with him in many lands—took it all as a matter of course, with that bright optimism that belonged to him under all the conditions and circumstances of life. In Iceland, particularly, he felt, I am sure, beside this, with his knowledge and his sympathies, that he had come into his own.

It was a memorable journey. We visited first of all the steaming plain of the Great Geysir, which failed, however, to erupt, as it frequently does, although the Strokkur, the next best spouting spring, was made, as the custom is, admirably to do its duty. The main

intention in setting out was to see the old open-air parliament place at Thingvellir, to get a nearby view of Hekla, and to inspect with our own eyes some of the principal places of the *Njáls Saga*, the great prose epic and epitome of Icelandic life in the classic age of its history.

This short paper cannot be a detailed itinerary, although I have been tempted to make it so, so well do I remember the incidents. We visited the squalid farmstead on the site of Hlíðarendi, the old home of Gunnar—the most national and characteristic figure of the *Njáls Saga*, and, in fact, of the whole prose literature of Iceland—where can still be traced the walls of the hall in which he met his heroic death. It was the view from Hlíðarendi that held him back from flight to safety after he had been outlawed at the Althing: “Fair,” he said, “is the Lithe; so fair that it has never seemed to me so fair; the corn fields are white to harvest, and the home mead is mown; and now I will ride back home, and not fare abroad at all.” The view is still there—the distant mountains, the broad plain, and the winding river, but there are no more fertile fields here or elsewhere in Iceland, and whether due to climatic change, as some suppose, or to racial decadence, Iceland is no longer in this, as in many respects, the recognizable land of the sagas. At Bergthórshvoll, in the plain, we stopped at the farmstead where once was the hall of the patient and magnanimous Njáll, in which he and many of his household were burned in the long feud that is the central theme of the saga. Both Hlíðarendi—Lithe End—and Bergthórshvoll still bear their old saga

names, the latter having now, as then, the name of Njáll's wife, Bergthóra, who, like Gunnar's wife, Hallgerða, was a principal actor and, indeed, in the one case the main-spring of action in the tragedy. For in Old Iceland, as everywhere else in the world of men, it has been and is *cherchez la femme*, and so will it doubtless be to the end of time.

We went on to Hekla and stayed overnight at the farmstead at its foot. Everywhere we were received as guests whom it was a delight to entertain with the best during our sojourn, and at our departure it was a frequent experience that a book, or sometimes several books, would be given to Professor Fiske, and no doubt often highly prized ones in which he had shown an interest, and which now are a part of the great collection at Cornell University of Icelandic literature, the greatest in America, and certainly one of the greatest today in the world.

On our journey back we stopped overnight at the farmstead of Oddi, where was once the old home of Saemund the Wise and the home in his early days of Snorri, the most remarkable man that Iceland ever produced, advocate, statesman, "speaker of the law," historian, and poet, the author of the *Heimskringla*, the monumental History of the Kings of Norway, and of the *Snorra Edda*, the Avesta of the Germanic people. And in a way most memorable of all, we spent a long day at Thingvellir, the place of the old parliament, the Althing, that for nearly nine hundred years was held here in the open air and for all this long period was the active center of the social and political life of Iceland.



The sites of the foundations of the booths that were occupied during the midsummer sessions of the Althing were still visible as grass-grown mounds, but the place was as still as the little graveyard of the nearby church, and nothing has remained unchanged except the lake, the eternal rocks, and the river. That night we slept in the little church, but the increasing cold reminded us that it was time to think of more comfortable conditions, and we turned, with the thought that an experience unforgettable had been ended, back toward Reykjavík.

There was again a round of entertainment which had its culmination in a great public banquet at the hospital, which the whole male population of the town and the surrounding country attended. Professor Fiske, as the guest of honor, was of course expected to make a responsive speech, and, though his Icelandic was reasonably ample for the ordinary purposes of daily communication, it was not enough for the effect that was expected of him on such an important and formal occasion. I remember him for several days laboring with "Cleasby and Vigfusson," the big Icelandic dictionary, to work out the speech that he subsequently committed to memory and delivered with great impressiveness, with tremendous effect, and to an unbounded applause that still rings in my ears as I write of it. A song had been written for the occasion, the refrain of which was sung with a growing warmth of enthusiasm with which the climate had little to do. I have long since forgotten the verses, but the refrain was repeated so insistently that it has stayed to



this day, a flotsam of memory, as such things do, and it goes like this:

Heill Fiske, vor kjæri,  
Með fjélögum tveim,  
Þeir fegins gestir  
Frá Vesturheim!

Hail Fiske, our beloved,  
With companions twain,  
Those joyful guests  
From the Western World!

It was only a short time after that Fiske and Reeves said farewell, and I know a reluctant one, to Iceland and to the many friends who saw them rowed away to the ship in the offing that was to take them back to Scotland and on their way to America. With the rest I waved them from the shore until they were aboard my own farewell, for I had decided to stay until the spring mail ship should take me back to Denmark, but that is another story that has little to do with this one and requires another telling.

I saw Professor Fiske many times after the Icelandic journey and he was never tired of recalling its adventures. It is given to few men to have lived the varied and eventful life that was Professor Fiske's—a very human life, full of the lights, and at times the shades too, of a wide experience of living, and notably full of the satisfactions of successful accomplishment. The Icelandic journey, of which I have given you what seems to me now only a shadow, long looked forward to, was an event that rounded out for him one more phase of his untiring quest in search of knowledge and of truth.

# WILLARD FISKE'S WRITINGS ON ICELAND

COMPILED BY ELISA JEBSEN

## I. ICELANDIC BIBLIOGRAPHIES

Bibliographical notices I. Books printed in Iceland, 1578-1844; a supplement to the British Museum Catalogue. [Florence, printed by Le Monnier successors, 1886.] Pp. 29.

Contents: Preliminary note, pp. [3]-4; Principal authorities, p. 4; Books printed in Iceland between 1578 and 1844, pp. [5]-26; Index of names and titles, pp. 26-29; Erratum, p. 29.

This includes books published in Iceland, 1578-1844, in Mr. Fiske's collection, not to be found in the library of the British Museum.

The arrangement is chronological. Titles are given in full for books printed earlier than the nineteenth century, with full collation and contents and historical notes, as well as a description and history of the copy in Mr. Fiske's possession, and the names of libraries possessing copies.

Bibliographical notices IV. Books printed in Iceland, 1578-1844; a second supplement to the British Museum Catalogue. [Florence, printed at the Le Monnier press, 1889.] Pp. 28.

Contents: Preliminary note, p. [2]; Books printed in Iceland between 1578 and 1844 (second list), pp. [3]-25; Index of names and titles, pp. 25-28; Table of contents, p. 28.

Bibliographical notices V. Books printed in Iceland, 1578-1844; a third supplement to the British Museum Catalogue. [Florence, printed at the Le Monnier press, 1890.] Pp. 29.

Contents: Preliminary note, pp. [3]-4; Books printed in Iceland between 1578 and 1844 (third list), pp. [5]-26; Index of names and titles, pp. 26-29; Table of contents, p. 29.

Bibliographical notices VI. Books printed in Iceland, 1578-1844; a fourth supplement to the British Museum Catalogue, with

a general index to the four supplements. Ithaca, New York, 1907. Pp. 47, [1].

Contents: Preliminary note, pp. [3]-4; Books printed in Iceland between 1578 and 1844 (fourth list), pp. [5]-36; Index of names and titles, pp. [37]-47, comp. by H. Hermannsson; Addenda and corrigenda, p. 47; Table of contents, p. [48] (indicating place of printing).

Completed by Halldór Hermannsson, and published after the author's death.

Icelandic books of the sixteenth century. [Florence, printed at the Le Monnier press, *ca.* 1886.] Pp. 4. Caption title. Signed: W. Fiske, Florence, Italy.

"The list is preliminary to a full-title catalogue of works in Icelandic published before the close of the 16th century. Only the first two or three lines of the title are given, together with an abridgment of the imprint (or colophon)." This list was based on the collection in the Royal Library, Copenhagen, and printed for the purpose of obtaining further information about Icelandic books of that period in other libraries.

## II. ARTICLES ON ICELANDIC LITERATURE

Icelandic Language and Literature. In the *New American Cyclopaedia*, published by D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1859-1863, Vol. IX, pp. 441-444.

Mr. Fiske also contributed articles on Denmark, Vol. VI, pp. 385-389; Norway, Vol. XII, pp. 414-416; Netherlands, Vol. XII, pp. 202-204; Sweden, Vol. XV, pp. 221-230.

The Icelandic language. How to study it, and why to study it, by Professor Willard Fiske, Cornell University. In the *College Courant*, New Haven, Connecticut, May 16, 1874.

Icelandic literary establishments. [Berlin, printed by A. W. Schade (L. Schade), 1880.] Pp. [2]. Signed: W. Fiske, Berlin, January 16, 1880.

Icelandic notes. [On modern Icelandic literature.] [Berlin, printed by A. W. Schade (L. Schade), 1880.] Pp. 4. Signed W. F. I, Berlin, February 18, 1880.

Iceland's annals. In the *Nation*, New York, January 22, 1880.

Reviews of Sturlunga saga, ed. by Gudbrand Vigfusson, Oxford, 1878, and an Icelandic prose reader, by Gudbrand Vigfusson and F. York Powell, Oxford, 1879.

On Recent Icelandic Literature. In the *Berkeley Quarterly*, San Francisco, 1881. Vol. II, pp. 72-79.

The Living Authors of Iceland. In [*Bulletin of*] *The Library of Cornell University*, Ithaca, 1882-1883. Vol. I, pp. 78-82, 110-114.

This list was compiled by Mr. Bogi Th. Melsted, but was translated and edited with additions by Mr. Fiske.

### III. WRITINGS ON ICELANDIC CHESS

Chess in Iceland and in Icelandic literature, with historical notes on other table games. Florence, the Florentine Typographical Society, 1905. Pp. ix, [2], 400. Port., illustr., diags.

Contents: Polar chess, [1]-9; Chess in the sagas, 9-24; The story of Frithiof, 25-32; Stray notes, 33-363; Index, [365]-398; Corrigenda, [399]-400.

This volume was not completed when Mr. Fiske died, and it was concluded by Horatio S. White, George W. Harris, and Halldór Hermannsson.

There were two important articles reviewing this work:

Fiske's Chess in Iceland. By H. J. R. Murray, in the *Nation*, New York, Vol. LXXXI, August 17, 1905, p. 149.

Das Schachspiel in Island. By E. P. Evans, in *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung*, 18 Juni, 1905.

Ein isländisches Schachbuch. In *Deutsche Schachzeitung*, Leipzig, 1880. XXXV. Jahrg., pp. 129-134.

Treats of Jósef Grímsson's *Spilabók*.

The origin of chess. In the *Nation*, New York, Vol. LXXI, August 16, 1900, p. 132; and October 4, 1900, p. 270.



Das heutige isländische Schachspiel, von W. Fiske. Sonderabdruck aus *Deutsche Schachzeitung*, Band LVI, Nos. 5 and 6, 1901. [Leipzig: Veit & Co., 1901.] Pp. 5. Cover title.

Í uppnámi. Íslenzkt skákrit. 1901-1902. [Leipzig.] Pp. vi, 187; viii, 86.

Edited by Mr. Fiske and Mr. Hermannsson.

The material collected by Mr. Fiske was issued by Mr. White as:

Chess Tales & Chess Miscellanies. London, Longmans Green and Co. [1912.] Pp. xiii, 428. 16 plates.

#### IV. MISCELLANEOUS PUBLICATIONS

Iceland. In the *Times*, London, October 1, 1879. Dated Reykjavík, September 20. Commented on by a leader in the *Times*, October 3, 1879.

Icelandic notes. [Description of modern Iceland.] [Berlin, printed by A. W. Schade, 1880.] Pp. [5]-8. Signed W. F. II, Berlin, April 5, 1880.

Mímir, Icelandic institutions with addresses, 1913. Copenhagen, printed by M. Truelsen, 1903. Pp. viii, 80, 8.

Contents: Institutions and lists of authors (in Iceland, Denmark, and America), pp. 1-24; Foreign Icelandic scholars, pp. 25-46; Current Icelandic serials, pp. 47-49; Notes on Icelandic matters, pp. 50-80; Supplement: Foreign Icelandic scholars, pp. 3-8.

In the prefatory note this volume is called "the first tentative issue of Mímir"; it is the only part that was published.

Book collections in Iceland. [Copenhagen, M. Truelsen, 1903.] Pp. 7, [1]. Caption title.

Contents: The two central libraries in the capital; Other libraries.

Constitutional changes in Iceland. From the *Times* (London), October 13, 1903. [Florence, the Landi press.] Pp. 9, [1]. Caption title.

"With slight modifications and some additions by the writer."

Fálkinn. In *Ísafold*. Reykjavík, October 27, 1886. Vol. XIII, pp. 173-174.

A criticism of the proposed flag for Iceland.

The ancient Vinland. In the *Evening Post*, New York, March 24, 1874.

On the discovery of America by the Northmen.

The Icelandic Discovery of America. In the *Nation*. New York, January 15, 1891. Vol. LII, pp. 54-56.

A review of A. M. Reeves's *The Finding of Wineland the Good*.

#### V. NEWSPAPER ARTICLES ON ICELANDIC MILLENNIAL, 1874

Iceland's millennial, 874-1874. In the *New York Herald*, Monday, March 2, 1874.

Iceland, its millennial anniversary and its new constitution. In the *Journal*, Syracuse, New York, March 9, 1874.

About a new constitution. In the *Cornell Times*, Ithaca, March 11, 1874.

A pleasant yacht trip. In *Forest and Stream*, New York, March 12, 1874.

A letter to Professor R. B. Anderson. In the *State Journal*, Madison, Wisconsin, March 18, 1874.

Urging him to collect books for Icelandic libraries as a gift from America on the occasion of the millennial anniversary.

A Thousandth Anniversary. In the *Evening Post*, New York, March 17, 1874.

Icelandic notes. In the *Cornell Era*, April 10, 1874.

#### VI. ARTICLES ON JÓN SIGURÐSSON

An Icelandic statesman. In the *Journal*, Syracuse, New York, March 27, 1874.

[Notice on the occasion of the death of Jón Sigurðsson.] In the *Nation*, January 15, 1880.

Jón Sigurðsson, a sketch by Professor Willard Fiske. Death of the Icelandic patriot and scholar. The story of what he accomplished for his country. Literary and political labors. His funeral at Copenhagen. In the *New York Tribune*, January 4, 1880. Signed and dated Berlin, December 18, 1879.

Iceland's champion. Death of Jón Sigurðsson, statesman, scholar, and historian. The champion of Iceland's independence. In the *New York Herald*, Friday, January 9, 1880. Dated Copenhagen, December 15, 1879.

Iceland. In *Galignani's Messenger*, No. 20, 128. Dated Paris, January 6, 1880.

Kleine Mittheilungen. In *National-Zeitung*, Berlin, 24 Dezember, 1879.

Jón Sigurðsson. In the *Kölnische Zeitung*, 23 Dezember, 1879, No. 355.

#### VII. POEMS TRANSLATED FROM THE ICELANDIC

By the sea; from the Icelandic of Steingrímur Thorsteinson. In the *Cornell Era*, November 28, 1879, Vol. XII, No. 11. Signed W. F.

A mystical vision; from the Icelandic of Matthías Jochumsson. Signed W. F. In the *Cornell Era*, November 28, 1879. Signed W. F.

#### CORNELL UNIVERSITY LIBRARY PUBLICATIONS ON ICELANDIC LITERATURE

Islandica; an annual relating to Iceland and the Fiske Icelandic collection in Cornell University Library. Ithaca, New York, 1908-1917. Vols. I-X.

Besides making provision for the maintenance of the Icelandic collection which he had bequeathed to the Cornell University Library, Mr. Fiske also gave the sum of \$5,000, the income of which was to be expended "for the purposes of the publication of an annual volume relating to Iceland and the said Icelandic collection in the library of the said university."

Vol. I. Halldór Hermannsson. Bibliography of the Icelandic sagas and minor tales. 1908. 7 p.l., pp. 126.

Contents: Introduction, by G. W. Harris; Prefatory note, by H. Hermannsson; Bibliography; Appendix: a list of poetical writings and works of prose fiction on subjects from the Icelandic sagas. Contains only titles found in the Fiske collection or in Cornell University Library. Pp. 5.

This includes only the Icelandic sagas proper (*Íslendinga sögur*), that is, the sagas and tales (*þættir*), historical and fictitious, the scene of which is Iceland, or which treat of Icelandic persons at home or abroad, from the settlement of Iceland in the ninth century, until the end of the Commonwealth in 1264, and which were written before the end of the fourteenth century.

The arrangement is alphabetical according to names of sagas, the old Icelandic form of names being used. Under each title the arrangement is chronological, giving: (1) editions of the text in the original; (2) translations, alphabetical according to language, and chronological under each language; (3) list of books and articles about the saga. Following the main entry are brief notes about each saga, giving the approximate date of events, date of composition, the probable author, if any, and the name, location, and date of MS or MSS. Old or important editions have also full notes, giving contents, description of the copy in the Cornell Library, and references to periodicals, as well as to books and bibliographies.

The names of editors and translators are always given when known. There are full bibliographical data for all editions and translations. Titles not found in the Fiske collection are marked with a dagger.

Vol. II. Halldór Hermannsson. The Northmen in America (982-*ca.* 1500). A contribution to the bibliography of the subject. 1909. 5 p.l., pp. 94.

Contents: List of sagas forming the principal sources for the history of the Norse voyages to America and Greenland. Bibliography.

This contains principally a list of writings commenting upon the accounts given in the sagas of the voyages to America, and the settlements made there by the ancient Norwegians and Icelanders. It includes also works commenting upon the voyages to and settlements in Greenland. It includes only a few works not found in the Cornell Library and does not aim at completeness.

The arrangement is alphabetical according to author.

Important works have descriptive notes and bibliographical references, with a list of books and articles about the work. Full table of contents of collective works and bibliographical references are given.



Vol. III. Halldór Hermannsson. Bibliography of the sagas of the kings of Norway, and related sagas and tales. 1910. 4 p.l., pp. 75.

Contents: Preface; Bibliography; Appendix, containing editions of and works about Nóregs konungatal, Varnarræða móti biskupum, and Annálar íslenzkir.

This comprises the sagas of the kings of Norway (Konunga sögur) and all minor tales (þættir) connected with them, as well as related, more or less historical, sagas and tales concerning the Færoes, the Orkneys, Denmark, Sweden, and Russia (Garðaríki). The period covered is that from the earlier half of the ninth century down to the reign of Magnús Lagabætir (1263-1280). Three Latin sagas are included: Theodorici Monachi Historia de antiquitate regum Norwagiensum, Historia de protectione Danorum in Terram Sanctam, Historia Norwegiae.

The arrangement is the same as in Vol. I. The entry is under the names of sagas. There is a short biographical note about the person of which each saga treats. Separate entry is made of the sagas of individual kings, with reference to the larger works in which they occur. The historical and literary notes following the main entry of each saga make the work valuable for reference, not merely from a bibliographical point of view. On account of the many entries under individual kings the list can also serve as an index to the early kings of Norway, with references to the sagas which treat of their lives. References are given to works in which facsimiles of MSS can be found.

Vol. IV. Halldór Hermannsson. The ancient laws of Norway and Iceland; a bibliography. 1911. 5 p.l., pp. 83.

Contents: Collections and Diplomataria (pp. 1-6); Individual texts (pp. 7-31); History and criticism (pp. 32-77); Bibliography and biography.

This contains a full list of the law texts and other legal records of Norway and Iceland from the earliest times down to the year 1387, as well as the modern literature dealing with the subject.

Arrangement:

1. Collections and diplomataria. There are only 16 entries and no systematic arrangement. Full entries give the contents. Reference is made to books and articles, chiefly of textual criticism. Entries for less important diplomataria are printed with smaller type.

2. Individual texts, arranged alphabetically according to names of laws in the old Icelandic form: (a) Historical notes, including information about

the MSS in which the text is preserved, with references to works containing facsimiles. (b) Reprints as well in diplomataria as separately. In many cases it is stated from which MS the reprint is taken. The arrangement under each entry is chronological, translations following texts in the original. References are given to books and articles about a special edition, following the entry of that edition, and to the laws in general at the end of all the entries, including translations.

3. History and criticism, alphabetically arranged according to author, and chronologically under each author. There are references to reviews and criticisms of the works. All historical and critical works other than those to which references are made in section 1 are entered here.

4. Bibliography and biography, in two alphabets. The biographical list contains the names of jurists with references to works in which information about them can be found.

5. Subject index.

Vol. V. Halldór Hermannsson. Bibliography of the mythical-heroic sagas (Fornaldar sögur). 1912. 5 p.l., pp. 73.

This comprises the non-historical sagas dealing with the times before the foundation of the kingdom of Norway and the colonization of Iceland; written in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, including some which are of non-Scandinavian origin, *lýgi-sögur* and *stjúpmaðra sögur*.—Of the Volsung- and Niblung-literature only those titles and articles which are of importance to the Norwegian-Icelandic version of the legend have been included. Articles on the heroic poems of the *Edda*, excepting those dealing with textual criticism, have been included.

Contents and arrangement:

1. Collections: (a) Texts; 6 entries. (b) Translations, alphabetical according to language. The contents are fully given both in (a) and (b). (c) General works about the Fornaldar sögur in general; arranged alphabetically according to author.

2. Individual sagas. Notes and arrangement as in Vols. I and III of *Islandica*.

Appendix I: Saxo Grammatici Gesta Danorum, containing a list of editions of Saxo, chronologically arranged and followed by translations, and a list of commentaries on the first 9 books on the history and its author.

Appendix II: Editions of Hvenske krönike.

Appendix III: Spurious sagas, containing editions of and works on the Hamlet saga (Ambáles saga), Andra saga jarls, and Huldar saga.

Vol. VI. Halldór Hermannsson. Icelandic authors of today, with an appendix giving a list of works dealing with modern Icelandic literature. 1913. Pp. xiv, 69.

Contents: Preface, 8 pp., containing a sketch of the history of Icelandic literature. Icelandic authors of today; biographical list. Includes only living authors of some consequence. Appendix: list of books and essays relating to modern Icelandic literature (since 1550), 6 pp. Monographs on individual authors are as a rule not included. The list does not claim to be exhaustive.

The arrangement is alphabetical by author, including biographical notes and works by the author, and contributions to periodicals, in chronological order, giving only the title and date. Under each author reference is made to books and articles about him. The titles of articles in periodicals are given in English translation. In the Appendix the arrangement is alphabetical by author without regard to language.

Vol. VII. Halldór Hermannsson. The story of Griselda in Iceland; edited with an introduction. 1914. 3 p.l., pp. xviii, 48.

Contents: Preface: The story of Griselda in Iceland. Historical review of the different Icelandic versions of the Griselda tale. Reprints of some of these versions, viz.: Kvæði um Grísillá eptir Þorvald Rögnvaldsson, pp. 1-6; Æfintýr af einum hertoga, er kallast Valtari, pp. 7-12; Her skrifast sagan af Gríshildi þolinmóðu, pp. 12-23; Her byrjast sagan af Gríshildi góðu, pp. 24-45; Sagan af Gríshildi góðu, pp. 46-48.

All these are edited from the MS copies of the Icelandic versions of the Griselda story which Mr. Fiske had brought together for his Petrarch collection. Various readings of different MSS are given in notes.

Vol. VIII. Halldór Hermannsson. An Icelandic satire (*Lof lýginnar*) written at the beginning of the eighteenth century by Þorleifur Halldórsson; edited with an introduction and appendix. 1915. 3 p.l., pp. xix, 54.

Contents: Introduction, pp. [i]-xix; *Lof lýginnar*, pp. [1]-34; *Ne vacent pagellae, Lecturis et Auditoris S. D. Author*,



pp. [35]-36; Appendix (containing Þorleifur Halldórsson's letters and poems), pp. [37]-54.

Vol. IX. Halldór Hermannsson. Icelandic books of the sixteenth century (1534-1600), 1916. 3 p.l., pp. xii, 72.

Contents: Introduction, pp. [i]-xii: Icelandic books of the sixteenth century, pp. 68, with reproductions; Index of personal names and titles, pp. [69]-72.

This bibliography attempts to describe all books printed in Iceland, or in Icelandic, or by Icelandic authors, during the sixteenth century, of which copies are known; books or editions which have been recorded, either rightly or wrongly, in other works dealing with the subject are also mentioned.

The arrangement is chronological, and usually alphabetical under each year.

The entry includes the year, full title, collation, bibliographical and historical notes, very often facsimiles, reference to articles and books, and names of libraries which possess copies. Books or editions of which no copy is known to exist are mentioned along with the others in the list, in smaller type, with references to books or writers where mention of them can be found.

Vol. X. Halldór Hermannsson. *Annalium in Islandia Farrago* and *De mirabilibus Islandiae*, by Gísli Oddson, bishop of Skálholt; edited with an introduction and notes. 1917. 3 p.l., pp. xv, 84.

Contents: Introduction, pp. [i]-xv; Reprint of *Annalium in Islandia Farrago*, pp. [1]-27; Notes and variants, pp. 7-30; Reprint of *De mirabilibus Islandiae*, pp. [31]-81; Illustrations; *Tituli capitum*, pp. 81-82; Notes and *Corrigenda* and *Errata*, pp. 83-84.

Halldór Hermannsson. *Catalogue of the Icelandic collection bequeathed by Willard Fiske*. Ithaca, New York, 1914. Pp. viii, [4], 755.

This includes: (1) editions and translations of old Icelandic and old Norse texts, with histories and commentaries on that literature. Works on the language, religion, history, manners, etc., of the Scandinavian nations in early times, principally the Norwegians and the Icelanders. (2) Modern Icelandic literature, beginning with the first book printed in Iceland, in 1540. It includes



about 10,200 volumes in the Icelandic collection, besides a few titles in the University Library outside of the collection.

Runic literature is not included. The arrangement is alphabetical. Contents and historical and bibliographical notes are frequently given, and there are many cross-references. Subject index, pp. [671]-755.

Halldór Hermannsson. Catalogue of runic literature forming a part of the Icelandic collection bequeathed by Willard Fiske. Oxford University press, 1918. Pp. viii, [1], 105, [1], Plate.

This forms a supplement to the Catalogue of the Icelandic Collection, 1914, and covers the literature about the runes and the runic inscriptions. It includes all the books, articles, and reviews dealing with the subject that are to be found in the Fiske Icelandic Collection and in Cornell University Library. A few titles (marked with a dagger) have been recorded, although not in the library, because reviews or other writings connected with them are to be found there.

The catalogue does not pretend to be a complete bibliography of runology, although it is the most comprehensive bibliography on the subject yet published.

Contents and arrangement: Preface, pp. [v]-viii. Catalogue of runic literature forming a part of the Fiske Icelandic collection, pp. [1]-85, arranged alphabetically according to author, with frequent cross-references. Contents of, and frequently notes about, the works are given, as well as references to reviews. Addenda, pp. 85-86. Appendix I: Runic coins (description of runic coins in the Fiske collection), pp. [87]-88. Appendix II: Runic calendar. Appendix III: Runic stones. Index of reviewers and other names in the notes, pp. [89]-90. Subject index, pp. [91]-105. Abbreviations, pp. [106].

## CATALOGUES OF COLLECTIONS GIVEN BY WILLARD FISKE TO CORNELL UNIVERSITY

[Willard Fiske.] A catalogue of Petrarch books. Ithaca, New York, 1882. Pp. 67, 3.

Issued in November, 1882, in an edition of 160 copies, "privately printed solely with the view of facilitating the increase of the collection," which then contained about 1,200 volumes.

Cornell University Library. Catalogue of the Rhaeto-Romanic collection presented to the Library by Willard Fiske. Ithaca, New York, 1894. Pp. iv, 32.

It is a noteworthy fact that within six weeks Mr. Fiske succeeded in gathering a very complete Rhaeto-Romanic collection of about 1,200 volumes.

Additions to the Rhaeto-Romanic collection. The *Library Bulletin of Cornell University*, March, 1895, pp. 235-236.

Theodore Wesley Koch. Catalogue of the Dante collection presented by Willard Fiske. Ithaca, New York, 1898-1899. 2 vols.

Part I. Dante's Works. 1898. Pp. 91.

Part II. Works on Dante (A-G). 1900. Pp. 93-268.

Vol. II, part II. Works on Dante (H-Z). 1898-1900. Pp. 269-501.

Supplement, pp. 503-520. Index of Subjects, pp. 521-560. Index of Passages, pp. 561-576. Iconography, pp. 577-606.

Titles and Introduction, signed W. F. Villa Landor, Florence, June, 1899. Pp. iv, xxii.

The preparation of the Catalogue was carried on in intimate consultation with Mr. Fiske. The major part of the collection, 7,000 volumes, was gathered in three years.

Mary Fowler. Catalogue of the Petrarch collection bequeathed by Willard Fiske. Oxford University Press, 1916. Pp. xviii, [4], 547, 2 plates.

The collection now numbers some 4,000 volumes.

Contents and arrangement of the Catalogue: Preface, pp. [v]–vi. Contents, p. [vii]. List of Illustrations, p. [viii]. Introduction by Geo. Wm. Harris, pp. [ix]–xviii. Biographical Explanations, 1 p. List of works cited, 1 p. Abbreviations, 1 p. Addenda and corrigenda, 1 p. The Catalogue, in two parts: Part I, Works of Petrarch, pp. 1–192; Part II, Works on Petrarch, pp. 193–496. Appendix I, Iconography, pp. 497–509. Appendix II, Notes on literary controversies, by W. Fiske, pp. 510–514. Subject Index, pp. 515–547.

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE  
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA  
HELD AT SARATOGA SPRINGS, NEW  
YORK, JULY 5, 1918

The meeting was called to order by the President, George Watson Cole, in parlor number 1 of the Grand Union Hotel.

In his preliminary remarks the President spoke, in substance, as follows:

It is not my purpose to occupy much of your time with an extended address. Before taking up the program, however, a few words should be said regarding our Society, of what has been done since we last met, and of its present condition.

It gives me great pleasure to say that during the interval between this meeting and that held at Louisville last year, much work has been done, and that the results accomplished have been most gratifying. This will be seen by the reports of the Secretary and Treasurer, which will be read later. Unfortunately neither of these officers is able to be present and read his report in person.

Two numbers of the *Papers* have been issued and the printing of the *Census of Incunabula* is well under way. The first instalment of the *Census* appeared in the April number of the *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, and the second, in the May number, completed the letter B.

For progress in this work we are under special obligation to the voluntary services of Dr. George Parker Winship, as editor, and to the generosity of the New York Public Library which has undertaken to print the *Census* without cost to the Society.

In order to carry on the expense of the editorial work, several friends of the Society have come forward with contributions



aggregating \$2050.00. Of this amount there remains enough still unexpended to complete the work and leave a small surplus to carry on any supplementary work that may be deemed advisable.

As planned, the *Census* will be completed in the December *Bulletin* of the present year. A separate edition of 300 copies will be printed for the use of the Library and 250 for the Society. Of the latter, one hundred copies are to be printed on Old Stratford paper, copies of which will be offered to subscribers at \$10.00 each. The money so raised, together with whatever balance there may be in the special fund, will be used for further work in this field. As now planned, this will consist of full descriptions of works, given in the *Census*, which have not heretofore been described.

It is a source of great gratification that the project which the late John Thomson, librarian of the Philadelphia Public Library, had so much at heart is on the eve of being accomplished, though in a somewhat modified form from that which he had planned. The *Census* when completed will add still another important work of reference for the use of American librarians and scholars.

The treasury of the Society is in a healthy state, enough being on hand to meet the probable expenses of the fiscal year, notwithstanding the increased expenditure for composition, printing, and paper occasioned by the technical character of Mr. Gruber's bibliographical descriptions of Luther's Bible and the different fragmentary translations leading up to it.

Several new members have been added to the Society. We now have 199 members, of whom eight are life-members; an increase of two over those reported last year.

It is sincerely to be hoped that the future character of the publications of the Society may become of more and more general interest and lead to the increased prosperity and usefulness of the Society.

It has been thought wise that the program of this session should take the form of a memorial to Professor Willard Fiske, a man in whom is seen the best fruits of American culture; one who as librarian, bibliographer, scholar, linguist, bibliophile, collector, philanthropist, and library benefactor made his influence felt from the icy north to the tropics—from Iceland to Egypt. A native of the Empire State, he chose the realm of literature as his field of activity and mastered it as few of his compatriots have done. His death was a loss to both hemispheres and called forth expressions of grief and appreciation on both sides of the Atlantic. Of his personal charm and scholarship we are to hear from those who knew him well and were associated with him in his labors and aided in the accomplishment of his lofty ideals.

We are particularly fortunate in having with us one who, of all others, was his friend and intimate companion during his entire career and whom he chose as his literary executor, Professor Horatio S. White.

Professor White, of Harvard University, then being introduced, began by explaining some illustrative material which he had brought with him and placed on exhibition. This consisted in part of specimens of the characteristic chirography of Professor Fiske, and of portraits of him from his boyhood to the latter part of his life, and of his homes, both in Ithaca and Florence. Selections were included from the elaborate and extensive mass of printed matter which Professor Fiske had originated and circulated in Egypt during his efforts to reform the Arabic alphabet. Attention was then called to the printed works of which he was the author, and to the catalogues of the Dante, Petrarch, Icelandic, and Runic collections which he bequeathed to Cornell University. Mention was also made of the different places in which accounts of these collections are to be found.

The Professor then read the first paper on the program, "An Introductory Sketch of the Life and Labors of Professor Fiske."

This was followed by one on "Willard Fiske as a Bibliographer," by Miss Mary Fowler, the compiler of the catalogue of the Petrarch Collection. Her paper, owing to her absence, was read by Mr. Willard Austen, librarian of Cornell University.

At this point the program was interrupted in order to give Mr. Wyer, the Director of the New York State Library (who had to leave before the close of the meeting), an opportunity to say a word regarding the library of The Bibliographical Society, which, in accordance with a vote passed at the meeting in Louisville, is now in the State Library School at Albany. There being some uncertainty as to whether all of the material belonging to the Society had been received, he put himself in communication with Dr. Carlton, of the Newberry Library, and Mr. Josephson, of the John Crerar Library, in order to find out whether any more still remained in Chicago. Owing to this fact, the printing of the list of the books in the library has been deferred, but it will be taken up as soon as Mr. Wyer is satisfied that the entire library has been received at Albany and a copy sent to each member of the Society.

The regular program was then resumed, the next number being a paper by Mr. Halldór Hermannsson on "The Icelandic Collection Formed by Professor Fiske, Now at Cornell University." In the absence of Mr. Hermannsson, his paper was read by Mr. Theodore Wesley Koch, of the Library of Congress, who made the catalogue of the Dante Collection. The concluding number of the memorial program, "Recollections of Professor Fiske and a Trip to Iceland," was read by Professor William H. Carpenter, provost of Columbia University, New York. He gave a graphic account of a winter spent in Iceland and of a journey to the interior of the island, during which several places of historic interest were visited.

The President then, on behalf of the Society, extended its thanks to all who had taken part in the Memorial program.



The Report of the Secretary, Mr. Henry O. Severance, in his absence, was then read by Mr. W. W. Bishop, Secretary *pro tem*. This was followed by the Report of the Treasurer, Mr. Frederick W. Faxon, read in abstract by Mr. Bishop, Mr. Faxon having been called home on business.

A report of the progress made on the *Census of Incunabula*, by Dr. George Parker Winship, was then read by the President, followed by a report of the treasurer of the special fund for that work.

The Report of the Nominating Committee, consisting of Mr. William W. Bishop, Chairman, Dr. W. N. C. Carlton, and Mr. Clarence G. Brigham, was then read by the Chairman, as follows:

*President:* George Watson Cole

*First Vice-President:* H. H. B. Meyer

*Second Vice-President:* J. C. M. Hanson

*Secretary:* Henry O. Severance

*Treasurer:* Frederick W. Faxon

*Member of the Council:* Aksel G. S. Josephson

These officers were duly elected. At the suggestion of the Nominating Committee the selection of an Editor, owing to the resignation of Mr. A. G. S. Josephson, who has felt obliged to relinquish the duties of that position, was left to the Council, with power.

There being no further business the Society then adjourned.

W. W. BISHOP, *Secretary pro tem*.

#### REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

The secretary has little to report for the present year.

The membership numbers 199.

Two of our members, Ralph K. Jones, librarian, University of Maine, and George W. Harris, librarian of Cornell University, died during the year.



The memberships of four were canceled and of five were suspended. Of these, one member has been restored.

New members added during the year number 33, leaving a total membership of 199, according to my records.

A new contract has been made with the University of Chicago Press, embodying the conditions and terms already in operation.

There was no midwinter meeting this year. The secretary's report of the 1917 meeting at Louisville has been published in the *Papers*, where it may be consulted.

Respectfully submitted,

HENRY O. SEVERANCE, *Secretary*

#### REPORT OF THE TREASURER

The Bibliographical Society of America now has 190 active members in good standing, 8 life members, and 1 honorary member, making 199 in all. During the last year, covered by the treasurer's report, we have added 6 new annual members and lost 5; we have also 2 new life members, Messrs. George D. Smith and Charles W. Clark.

Attached is my report for the year July 1, 1917, to June 30, 1918, inclusive.

FREDERICK W. FAXON, *Treasurer*

#### TREASURER'S REPORT, JULY, 1917, TO JUNE, 1918

##### RECEIPTS

Balance on hand July 1, 1917.....	\$210.35
Membership dues (1917 balance, 1918 incomplete) ..	572.32
Sales of publications by University of Chicago Press (July, 1917, to June, 1918).....	147.90
Sales by Society.....	104.25
Interest on bank balance.....	6.85
	<hr/> \$1,041.67

## EXPENDITURES

Sundries—postage, etc.....	\$ 39.72	
Reprints: 100, Chicago Literary Club.....	5.25	
25, Article by Professor Brooks.....	4.49	
Paid to life-membership fund, cash received from sales of Feipel reprint.....	49.25	
R. J. Kerner, royalty.....	1.80	
Papers:		
Mailing Vol. XI, No. 2.....	9.32	
Vol. XI, Nos. 3-4, and mailing.....	273.95	
Vol. XII, Nos. 1-2, and mailing.....	355.96	
University of Chicago Press:		
Postage on publications sent at treasurer's order.....	3.92	
Holding type of Feipel reprint.....	3.00	
Exchange on checks.....	.20	
Balance in bank.....	294.81	
		<u>\$1,041.67</u>

## LIFE-MEMBERSHIP FUND

## Principal

(For use only on publications, not on regular *Papers*)

Balance on hand July 1, 1917.....	\$230.22	
Received from two life-members.....	100.00	
Received from sales of Feipel reprints, to June 30, 1918.....	49.25	
		<u>\$379.47</u>
Expended for royalty to L. N. Feipel.....	10.95	
Balance on hand June 30, 1918 (Brookline Savings Bank).....	368.52	
		<u>\$379.47</u>

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(Applicable to regular expenses of the Society)

On hand July 1, 1917.....	\$ 42.36	
Accrued interest to June 30, 1918.....	10.20	
		<u>\$ 52.56</u>
No expenditures		
Balance on hand June 30, 1918 (Brookline Savings Bank).....	\$ 52.56	\$ 52.56

# REPORT OF THE EDITOR OF THE CENSUS OF FIFTEENTH CENTURY BOOKS, JUNE 30, 1918

The *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for the months of April and May, 1918, contained the first two instalments of the *Census*, giving the titles grouped by Hain under the letters A and B. C and D will appear in the June issue.

The entries for the letters C, D, E, F are in type and the proof corrected as far as about the middle of F. The printer has the manuscript through H.

At the present rate the alphabet will be completed in the issue of the *Bulletin* for next December. The *Census* will then be issued as a single volume, containing the entries as they have appeared in the *Bulletin*, addenda and errata, both of which have begun to accumulate, an introductory statement explaining the purpose and scope of the undertaking, and an account of its inception and progress.

The figures for the letter A will give an idea of the material which the *Census* makes available:

Title entries (not counting cross-references).....	909
Hain has, for A, 2231 numbers, so that we have 40 per cent as many entries. We enter about 33 per cent of Hain titles, the others being new to Hain.	
Number of titles represented by one copy only.....	473
(Over one-half. The average is two copies of each title)	
Number of copies registered.....	1824

Memorandum of distribution of 473 books printed in the fifteenth century of which one copy only is registered in the *Census*, of titles coming under the letter A.

New York.....	120	California.....	25
Washington.....	60	Providence.....	24
Boston.....	60	Ithaca.....	16
Baltimore.....	53	Chicago.....	12
Philadelphia.....	43		

Hartford, 7; New Haven, 5; Worcester, 4; Princeton, 3; Buffalo, 3; Four owners, 2 each; Sixteen, 1 each.

An auction record of 15 titles has not been traced to the present owner.

This probably represents with substantial fairness the relative strength of these localities as shown by the *Census*.

GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP



1

# The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America

VOLUME THIRTEEN

1919

GEORGE P. WINSHIP

CARL B. RODEN

ANDREW KEOGH

*Publication Committee*

The Society does not hold itself responsible for opinions  
expressed by contributors of papers

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS  
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161

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# The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America

VOLUME XIII. 1919

PART ONE

CARL B. RODEN  
ANDREW KEOGH  
ERNEST C. RICHARDSON  
*Publication Committee*

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1

# WEBSTER'S SPEECHES

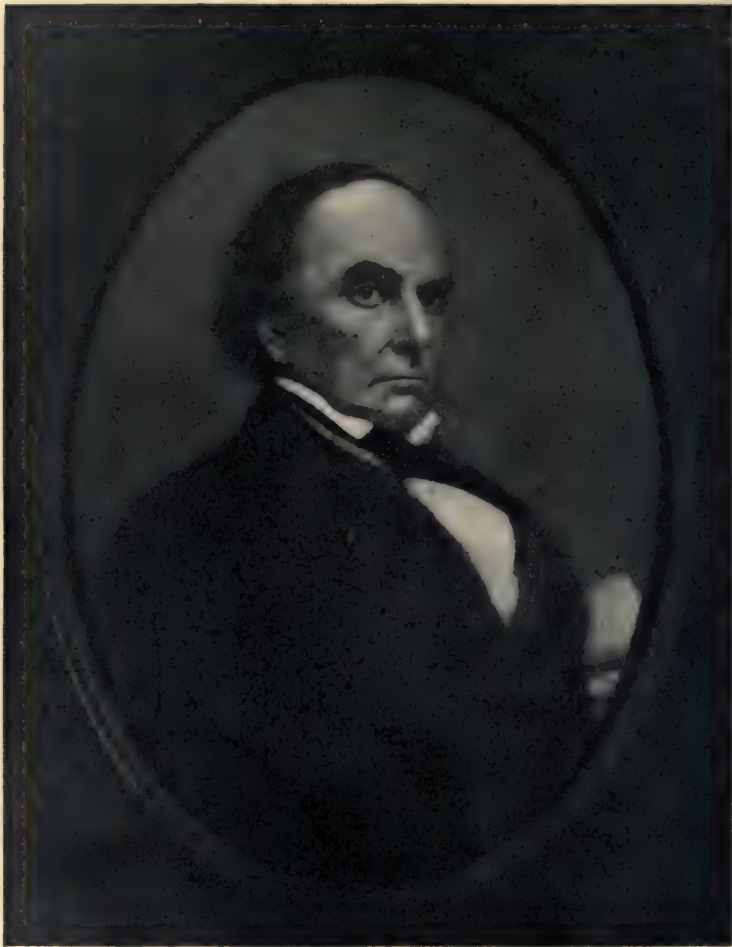
A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REVIEW

BY CLIFFORD B. CLAPP

.







*Copyright by C. B. Clapp*

**DANIEL WEBSTER**

From a daguerreotype, not heretofore reproduced, taken when he was about  
fifty-six years of age.



## THE SPEECHES OF DANIEL WEBSTER: A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REVIEW

BY CLIFFORD BLAKE CLAPP

INTEREST in Webster literature begins where interest in "Americana" often ends, with 1800. Daniel Webster's speeches and writings extend over a little more than half a century, those of each decade seeming to have—roughly, it must be admitted—a peculiar characteristic. Separate editions of those of the first two decades are nearly all rarities; but, while some editions of the succeeding periods are seldom found, many of the later items were issued in large numbers, extensively collected, and carefully saved. Probably when general interest is aroused in Webster literature, much of this material will be brought to light from its many hiding-places. But neither the scarcity nor the frequent occurrence of any editions need deter recording or collecting; for the work of few Americans of the nineteenth century is so well worth study, and a certain inspiration comes from the knowledge and possession of the literature in its original form. It is from this point of view, largely, that the present review is written, with the hope of inspiring wider interest in the subject, and with the aim of drawing forth information concerning the printed material nearest the source and suggestions regarding its relation to Webster's career and to the national life.

The most recent bibliography of Webster is that by Mark Van Doren, in the second volume of the *Cambridge History of American Literature* (1918). The most useful all-around bibliography of Webster that had previously been printed between covers was the brief one in Professor Ogg's *Daniel Webster* (1914), listing about fifty Webster titles and many accessory works. The card catalogues of several libraries embraced long lists of titles, usually badly arranged even if professedly alphabetical, owing to the variety of titles assumed by identical speeches and to various methods of cataloguing; and the printed indexes to periodicals and general literature contained a large number of entries. But the longest printed lists of a general nature were those in the following library catalogues, the number of separates only being specified in most cases: the Boston Athenaeum (1882), with over 150 titles, more than a third being titles of Webster's own works; the Massachusetts State Library (1880) and supplements in *Reports* (1881-1909), with 115 titles, 47 being of Webster's works; the Peabody Institute, Baltimore (1892 and 1905), with about 100 titles, mostly biographies or collections of speeches; the New Hampshire State Library (1902) and Supplement (1904), with about 65 titles, nearly all of them titles of Webster's own works. For a good general bibliography, the *Bulletin* of the Salem (Massachusetts) Public Library, VI, 4 (October, 1901), with nearly 50 titles, is very useful.

The chronological index to the *Writings and Speeches* (1903), edited by J. W. McIntyre, together with remarks

distributed throughout the 18 volumes, is practically a bibliography, and this edition and the two volumes of Curtis' *Life of Daniel Webster* (1870) contain the greater part of what is known about the occasions, original sources, and form of Webster's speeches. In Webster's correspondence there is comment on the circumstances attending the publication and reception of some speeches and collections, and Professor McMaster has drawn additional information from other contemporary sources, such as the press of the time.

Yet it is pleasant to record that Mr. Van Doren's bibliography reaches a new level by listing about 350 Webster titles or sources, perhaps 85 being separate titles of Webster's own works, and by specifying in some cases several editions of single titles. This is the best reference bibliography of Daniel Webster. A list of this kind is the beginning of the thorough study of the formal side of a man's literary output. From this we must go on to the complete list of Webster material, separate and analytical, which will comprise double the number of entries collected up to the present time; and then proceed to a complete descriptive bibliography.

One hundred years ago, through the prestige attached to the winning of the Dartmouth College Case, Daniel Webster became a national character. In the decade and a half next succeeding, he delivered in rapid succession those remarkable orations that will always be remembered. The dignity of his character was evident, his enthusiasm was never more ardent, his imagination was



working on a lofty plane, his intellect was very keen. The celebrity consequent upon his *Reply to Hayne* led to the immediate publication of the first considerable collection of his speeches; and the earliest works of a biographical nature appeared about the same time.

The *Speeches and Forensic Arguments*. Boston: Perkins & Marvin, and Gray & Bowen; New York: Jonathan Leavitt, 1830 (pp. viii + 25-520), was republished with an additional volume: Boston: Perkins, Marvin, & Co.; Philadelphia; Henry Perkins, 1835; and a third volume was added later: Boston: Tappan and Dennet, 1843; the work going through at least eight so-called editions up to 1848. The *Diplomatic and Official Papers* were published in New York by Harper and Brothers in 1848 (392 pp.), edited by his private secretary, Charles Lanman. The collection of his speeches that is most generally known and that has given very great service was edited by Edward Everett and entitled *The Works of Daniel Webster*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1851 (6 vols.; many succeeding editions).

For letters other than official there have appeared three collections: *The Private Correspondence of Daniel Webster*. Edited by Fletcher Webster. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1857 (2 vols.), republished in Vols. 17 and 18 of the "National Edition"; Professor C. H. Van Tyne's *The Letters of Daniel Webster*. New York: McClure, Phillips & Co., 1902 (22 + 769 pp.); and the *Letters Hitherto Uncollected*, published as Vol. 16 of the "National Edition." This "National Edition," which is



the almost complete and wholly admirable collection of Webster's works edited by J. W. McIntyre, is *The Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.; New York: J. F. Taylor & Co., 1903 (18 vols.). The mass of Webster's writings collected in this edition, says Dr. Fisher, "give one an impression of intellectual power, which, I think, would be hard to match anywhere in the history of law and politics."

As a review of the *Speeches and Forensic Arguments*, there appeared in Vol. IX of the *American Quarterly Review*, in 1831, an article that was reprinted the same year under the title *Remarks on the Life and Writings of Daniel Webster*. Philadelphia: Carey & Lea (as reprinted, 48 pp.). We must read a bit from this article if we are to appreciate the humor attending the concealment of the authorship. The anonymous author says, on page 4 of the book, "We were, therefore, disappointed, on opening the volume of his works, not to find prefixed to it a full biographical notice of him. We were, indeed, so much disappointed and felt so fully persuaded, that neither the contents of the volume itself, nor the sources of its author's power, nor his position before the nation, could be properly comprehended without it, that we determined at once to prepare such notices of his life, as we might be able to collect under unfavorable circumstances. We only regret that our efforts have not been more successful,—and that our notices, therefore, are few and imperfect." The work is credited to George Ticknor on the evidence of letters by Webster and Ticknor, and

the amusing thing is that Ticknor had been an intimate friend of Webster for many years, and that Webster himself approved the review and advised regarding its reprint in book form.<sup>1</sup> Probably the real "unfavorable circumstances" consisted in Ticknor's embarrassment by his nearness to the great subject. The article, while not a life, is an exceptionally good review. It is mentioned here, along with a couple of other publications, as the earliest attempts in public text to portray Webster to his countrymen.

The year before Ticknor's work there was published a book called *Sketches of Public Characters*, by Ignatius Loyola Robertson. New-York: E. Bliss, 1830. This work, in reality by Samuel Lorenzo Knapp, an editor and author somewhat addicted to whimsical subterfuges, consists of pretended letters, and Letter I, on pp. [5]-29, beginning "Washington, Jan. 1830," is on Daniel Webster. The title is mentioned in the Contents, and the running headlines are "Webster," but there is no caption title. This sketch was republished with the title *A Memoir of the Life of Daniel Webster*. By Samuel L. Knapp. Boston: Stimpson and Clapp, 1831 (2+234 pp.); and a second edition, "Revised and brought down to the present time," appeared in New York: J. S. Redfield, 1835 (108 pp.).

The other early biographical publication, mentioned above, is a pamphlet of 16 pages, of unknown date and

<sup>1</sup> Curtis, *Life of Daniel Webster* (1870), I, 408-10; *Writings and Speeches*, XVI, 208-9.

origin, but showing some internal evidence that it was probably sent out for campaign purposes about the time Webster was first mentioned for the presidency. It bears the simple title *Daniel Webster* and begins, "Publications have, at different periods, issued from the press," ending, "the good Providence which overrules the destinies of States and of Empires." The only copies so far noted are in the Dartmouth College and Newberry libraries.

The best-known biographies of Webster are those by Everett, Raymond, Lanman, Curtis, Harvey, Lodge, Hapgood, McMaster, Fisher, and Ogg. It is impossible here to give credit to the other writers of biographical works, most of which were eulogies, essays, or sketches, but some of which deserve the name of "lives." The flood of eulogies, chiefly in 1852 and 1853, was remarkable. The Philadelphia Mercantile Library's *Bulletin* for July, 1883, contained the *Bibliographia Websteriana* (reprinted separately), the well-known list of these eulogies compiled by Charles Henry Hart, recording 72 titles. Of these the one by Rufus Choate is the most noteworthy. Of Choate's eulogy, *A Discourse Delivered before the Faculty, Students, and Alumni of Dartmouth College*, there were two editions, both published in Boston and Cambridge by James Munroe and Company in 1853; the one mentioned in Hart's list has 100 pages and is the more desirable of the two, although perhaps the commoner; and the other is an edition of 88 pages. Anyone who is interested in Choate's oration ought also to read Rev. Charles



Caverno's *Reminiscences of the Eulogy of Rufus Choate on Daniel Webster* (1914).

Edward Everett, co-worker and friend of Webster, with exceptional opportunity for judging his subject, wrote what Curtis calls "a beautiful and carefully written biographical memoir." This seems to have been the result of an introduction furnished by Everett to the second volume of the *Speeches and Forensic Arguments*, Webster asking in letters written March 21, 1847, and January 8, 1851, that it be revised and extended to apply to a new edition of all his speeches.<sup>1</sup> This new edition, containing Everett's biographical introduction, was *The Works of Daniel Webster* (1851; and other editions), in 6 volumes. The memoir, again extended, appears also in the "National Edition" (1903). Everett also delivered a eulogy in Boston in 1859. Raymond's work was a remarkable example of nimble journalism. It appeared first in the *New York Daily Times* of October 25, 1852, and then in two editions in book form. Lanman wrote on *The Private Life of Daniel Webster* (1852) from knowledge gained as his private secretary. George Ticknor Curtis, one of Webster's literary executors, produced in his *Life of Daniel Webster* (1870; several editions) a monument to the statesman's memory which has been the *vade mecum* for all later biographers. It has been somewhat of a custom to distrust Harvey's *Reminiscences and Anecdotes* (1877; and later editions), while making considerable use of his material; but Dr. Fisher, in explaining this tend-

<sup>1</sup> *Writings and Speeches*, XVI, 471-73, and XVIII, 411.



ency, comes to his defense.<sup>1</sup> The *Daniel Webster* of Senator Henry Cabot Lodge has been considered since its appearance the standard biography for general use. Its eminent author for a number of years has stood in general estimation as the living authority on Webster. But *The True Daniel Webster* by Sidney George Fisher certainly competes well in all respects with Senator Lodge's work and deserves its title for its pronounced fair-mindedness. Norman Hapgood's little book (1899) is remarkable for its success as a biography both because of and in spite of its brevity. In the life by John Bach McMaster (1902) there is some new material, gathered from contemporary sources. Frederick Austin Ogg (1914) produced a concise political discussion of Webster's career, somewhat less personal than the works of Lodge and Fisher.

In 1829 Webster wrote a brief, entertaining, and illuminating autobiographical sketch, extending, however, only to 1817. This has been used by his biographers for many details of his early years. In the few pages of this *Autobiography* the main points touched on are his parentage, his birth on a farm in 1782, his education in the local schools, at Exeter Academy, and at Dartmouth College, his teaching at Fryeburg to maintain in college the brother Ezekiel—afterward an able lawyer—who had done so much for him, his private reading, his first literary ventures, and his early political work. This account is to be found with *The Private Correspondence*, both in the

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<sup>1</sup> Fisher, *The True Daniel Webster*, pp. vii-xiv.

original and in the "National" editions. The account of the private reading is noteworthy. A most interesting and perhaps significant fact of Webster's Exeter period was the timidity that kept him from speaking before the school. "Mr. Buckminster always pressed, and entreated, most winningly, that I would venture; but I could never command sufficient resolution. When the occasion was over, I went home and wept bitter tears of mortification."<sup>1</sup>

Daniel Webster's first literary productions were his contributions to the *Dartmouth Gazette* from 1799 to 1801, a list of which will be found in the *Writings and Speeches*, XVI, 3. His earliest printed speech was *An oration, pronounced at Hanover, New-Hampshire, the 4th Day of July, 1800; being the twenty-fourth anniversary of American independence. By Daniel Webster, member of the Junior Class, Dartmouth University*. . . . Hanover: Moses Davis, 1800 (15 pp.). This first edition is very scarce, but there are copies in the Library of Congress, at Harvard, Newberry, the New York Public, and elsewhere. The oration was republished in Raymond and Lyman's *Life and Memorials of Daniel Webster* (1853), and in Loring's *Hundred Boston Orators* (1852; 4th ed., 1855). As a separate it was reprinted in 1884 as a supplement to the *Bay State Monthly* and the *Granite Monthly*, at a time when these two periodicals were both published by John N. McClintock and Company. The *Granite Monthly* published as its July-August and September-October numbers, respec-

<sup>1</sup> *Private Correspondence* (1857), I, 10.

tively, the April and May numbers of the *Bay State Monthly*, omitting four pages of the latter. With the April number of the one magazine and the July-August number of the other was given the type-set facsimile of the oration; it is mentioned on page 263 of the duplicate issues. This juvenile federalistic speech, with Webster's next boyish effort, a eulogy, the reader can safely call "florid" or "splurgy" without referring to Professor Ogg or Dr. Fisher or any other authority; and yet it undoubtedly has praiseworthy points.

The eulogy bears the title *A Funeral Oration, Occasioned by the Death of Ephraim Simonds, of Templeton, Massachusetts, a Member of the Senior Class in Dartmouth College; who died at Hanover, (N.H.) on the 18th of June 1801, æt. 26. By Daniel Webster, a class-mate of the deceased. "Et vix sustinuit dicere lingua Vale!"* Hanover: Moses Davis, 1801 (13 pp.). Curtis tells us that Webster, in 1820, having learned that Ticknor had a copy of this eulogy, said, "I thought, till lately, that, as only a few copies of it were printed, they must all have been destroyed long ago; but, the other day, Bean, who was in college with me, told me he had one. It flashed through my mind that it must have been the last copy in the world, and that if he had it in his pocket it would be worth while to kill him, to destroy it from the face of the earth."<sup>1</sup> But the anonymous author of an article in *Old and New*, VIII, No. 1, July, 1873, writing on "Traces in Print of Daniel Webster's Work in College," says that four copies

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<sup>1</sup> Curtis, I, 40, note.



were known to have survived. Some certainly exist today, there being copies in the Dartmouth College and the New York Historical Society libraries, and elsewhere, but it is very scarce. The Simonds eulogy was reprinted in two editions in 1855. One of these, Hanover: The Dartmouth Press, April, 1855 (10 pp.), with the misprint "Tempeton" in the title, is not rare; the other, Salisbury: W. H. B. Currier, 1855 (8 pp.), is very scarce, but there is a copy in the New York Public Library.

Another address delivered at Dartmouth College in 1801 by Webster is not known to have been issued as a pamphlet, but there is deposited in the Dartmouth College Library a volume of speeches by Webster skilfully and curiously inlaid, in which this speech exists in the similitude of a separately printed work. As arranged, it has caption title reading in part *An Oration on Opinion . . . at the Anniversary of the United Fraternity*, with the text in nine single columns, the first line in black letter. On the back of this, by holding it to the light, can be seen the text of some edition, not recognized, of the Fourth of July oration of 1800. This copy of the United Fraternity oration is probably, like another work in the same volume, a well-contrived imitation of a separate.

In 1802, while teaching at Fryeburg, Maine, Webster delivered an oration that escaped print for eighty years. The manuscript of this was discovered in a junk shop in Boston long after Webster's death. It was issued in two forms, one spoken of as the "plain edition" and entitled



*Newly discovered Fourth of July oration . . . now for the first time given to the public.* Boston: A. Williams & Co.; Fryeburg, Me.: A. F. & C. W. Lewis, 1882 (16 pp.). It has a portrait of Webster and views of the old academy building and the old church where Webster spoke. The other edition is *The Illustrated Fryeburg Webster Memorial*. Fryeburg, Me.: A. F. & C. W. Lewis, 1882 (39 pp.), which has the same text as the "plain edition" with the addition of 23 pages and three plates, much of the additional matter being biographical.

In the year 1809 Webster delivered at Dartmouth College a Phi Beta Kappa address on *The State of Our Literature*, but this is not known to have been separately published. During this first decade he was also connected with the honored little group of literary adventurers who published *The Monthly Anthology*, and who were the forerunners of the Boston Athenæum and of the *North American Review*. Webster's share in the literary efforts of the group is mentioned on pages 209 and 321-23 of the Anthology Society's *Journal*, edited by M. A. DeWolfe Howe and published by the Boston Athenæum in 1910.

It was as a Federalist that Daniel Webster began his political career, and the earlier writings and speeches are consonant with the attitude of his party. His first political publication was *An Appeal to the Old Whigs of New-Hampshire* n.p., [1805] (16 pp.). It is signed on page 15: "An old Whig. February—1805." Webster, in his *Autobiography*, errs in placing this in 1804. Curtis, Lodge, Fisher, and Ogg have all placed it in this year,

following Webster, but the latter says of it, on January 19, 1806, in a letter to his friend Bingham, "Last year I wrote a political pamphlet. . . ."<sup>1</sup> The date is correct in the "National Edition." The next known pamphlet is *An Anniversary Address, Delivered before the Federal Gentlemen of Concord and Its Vicinity, July 4th, 1806*. Concord, N.H., George Hough, 1806 (21 pp.). In several places this has typographical errors, and it will therefore be well to compare copies for variations. Two years later, directed against the policy of the Democrats, came Webster's anonymous *Considerations on the Embargo Laws* n.p., n.d. (16 pp.), "the principal thesis of which was the unconstitutionality of an embargo measure not expressly limited in duration."<sup>2</sup>

On June 18, 1812, by act of Congress war was declared with Great Britain. "July 4th—barely more than two weeks later—Webster delivered a speech which, marking as it did in a very real sense his entrance of the political arena, was easily the most important of his career to this point."<sup>3</sup> This speech against "Mr. Madison's war" was entitled *An Address Delivered before the Washington Benevolent Society, at Portsmouth, July 4, 1812*. Portsmouth, N.H.: Oracle Press, William Treadwell, n.d. (27 pp.).

This was soon followed by the bibliographically more interesting *Rockingham Memorial*, which, in recent opinion, contained much of the power of argument that

<sup>1</sup> *Private Correspondence*, I, 221.

<sup>2</sup> Ogg, *Daniel Webster*, p. 76.

<sup>3</sup> Ogg, p. 77.

characterized his maturer years. "There are passages in it that almost convince us that the old Federalists may have been right."<sup>1</sup> "The tone of the memorial was dignified, courteous, and moderate; but the protest against the war was firm."<sup>2</sup> This Rockingham Memorial, as it is usually called, masquerades under the title *Speech of the Hon. George Sullivan, at the Late Rockingham Convention, with the Memorial & Resolutions, and Report of the Committee of Elections*. Concord: George Hough, September, 1812. (31 pp.). The first edition collates:

p. [1], [title-page]; p. [2], [blank]; p. [3], [under heading, not followed by date,] Meeting of the Friends of Peace [a paragraph giving some circumstances of the meeting "holden at Brentwood, on Wednesday Aug. 5, 1812"]; pp. [3]-17, Speech [of Sullivan]; p. 17, [brief details of proceedings]; pp. 18-27, Memorial. Daniel Webster, Esq. [and 14 others named] having been appointed a Committee to prepare a Memorial to the President of the United States, reported the following, which was unanimously accepted. To James Madison, Esquire, President of the United States. [The memorial, written by Webster, is signed at the end by Samuel Tenney, Chairman, and William A. Kent, Secretary]; pp. 28-30, Resolutions; p. 31, Committee of elections. . . . For electors. . . . For representatives. . . . [the first of the six names under the latter head being "Daniel Webster, Esq. of Portsmouth"].

This was followed probably at once by an edition having nearly the same title, varying: . . . *memorial*

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<sup>1</sup> Fisher, p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> Ogg, p. 80.



*and resolutions . . . . Second edition.* Exeter: The Constitutional Press, E. C. Beals, n.d. (30 pp.).

p. [1], [title-page]; p. [2], [blank]; p. [3], [under heading] Meeting of the Friends of Peace [and date] Exeter, August 8th, 1812 [a paragraph differing from that on page [3] of the Concord edition only in some instances of punctuation, in the insertion of the *u* in "honourable," and in the statement, "holden at Brentwood, on Wednesday last."]; pp. [3]-16, Speech [of Sullivan]; pp. 16-17, [brief details of proceedings]; pp. 17-27, Memorial. Daniel Webster, Esq. . . . [etc.]; pp. 27-29, Resolutions; p. 30, Elections. . . . For electors. . . . For representatives. . . .

Webster was elected to Congress in 1812. Continuing the Federalist policy, he introduced *Mr. Webster's motion calling for information touching the French decree purporting to be a repeal of the Berlin and Milan decrees. June 10, 1813. Ordered to lie on the table.* Washington: A. & G. Way, 1813. (4 pp.).

Regarding Webster's next published speech, "the first speech in Congress by Mr. Webster which was fully reported,"<sup>1</sup> Dr. Fisher says: "In Congress, Webster's most conspicuous effort was directed to securing the passage of a set of resolutions calling on Madison's administration to explain when and how the repeal of the French decrees had been communicated to our government." Professor Ogg says that on January 14, 1814, "Webster, who thus far had participated in the debate but incidentally, rose to deliver a speech which

<sup>1</sup> *Writings and Speeches*, XIV, 18, note.



easily surpassed all his earlier efforts and touched, indeed, the high-water mark of his oratory during his first period of congressional service. . . . The florid style which had marred earlier speeches had now virtually disappeared and in its stead was simplicity, directness, deliberation." This speech was published in four editions:

*Speech of the Hon. Daniel Webster, delivered in the House of Representatives of the United States, on the 14th January, 1814, on a bill making further provision for filling the ranks of the regular army, encouraging enlistments, and authorising the enlistments for longer periods of men whose terms of service are about to expire.* Exeter: Constitutionalist office, 1814. (15 pp.).

—[SAME TITLE] Alexandria: Snowden & Simms, 1814. (13 pp.).

—[SAME TITLE varying in punctuation, and as follows, brackets occurring]: *Speech of the Hon. Daniel Webster, [of N.H.] delivered in the House of Representatives of the U. States, . . .* Keene, N.H.: John Prentiss, 1814. (15 pp.).

—[SAME TITLE as the first edition, varying]: *Speech of the Hon. Daniel Webster, Esq. delivered . . . January 14, 1814, . . .* Portsmouth: Charles Turell, 1814. (15 pp.).†

This seems to be one of the two speeches that Professor McMaster, calling it "the first of his many celebrated speeches," says that Chief Justice Marshall praised many

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†Titles followed by a dagger have not been compared with the originals in the preparation of this paper.

years later on failing to find them in the *Speeches and Forensic Arguments*. The other one, delivered four days earlier, on Robert Wright's resolutions, was not separately published, but a résumé of it is given in *Writings and Speeches*, XIV, 11-13. It is of especial interest in these days, because it deals with the law of punishment of illegal aid to the enemy.

The Great War just ending has brought out in separate form another speech never before printed by itself. The title reads, with punctuation inserted . . . . *Daniel Webster on the draft; text of a speech delivered in Congress, December 9, 1814. Reprinted from "The Letters of Daniel Webster," edited by C. H. Van Tyne. . . . Washington, D.C.: American Union against Militarism, [1917]. ([11] pp.).* An explanatory note, p. [1], declares that the United States did not enact drastic draft laws during the War of 1812, as had been stated, and that "This argument of Webster's, coming from the ablest constitutional lawyer in Congress, contributed materially to its defeat." This use of Webster's 1814 argument against the selective draft of 1917 resulted in a letter by Dr. Van Tyne to the *New York Times*, dated June 2, 1917, and appearing in the June 5 issue of that paper. He said, in part, "I feel outraged to find my name on so treasonable a sheet, even as editor of a quoted speech, and I wish here to expose the wanton misrepresentation and misuse of this document. In the first place, Daniel Webster himself was ashamed of his sophomoric effusion against conscription, and did not even permit it to be published in the Congressional

Record. He wrote his friend, Jeremiah Mason, that he would show it to him some time in secret. Webster never allowed it to be published in his printed works during his life, and, after his death, his son, Fletcher Webster, thought it unworthy of publication in his edition of his father's papers. Moreover, Webster was not at the time of making the speech 'the ablest constitutional lawyer in Congress' . . . ."

In a reply to Professor Van Tyne, written June 5, 1917, as a letter to the *New York Times* and published in the issue of June 7, Dr. David Starr Jordan released his own outraged feelings occasioned by certain personal remarks, by saying, in part, "We may readily forgive Dr. Van Tyne for rescuing this 'easily answered' document from the oblivion to which it now appears Webster consigned it."

In 1817 Webster retired from Congress for several years. About this time he was counsel for the defense of the Kennistons, Pearson, and Jackman, falsely accused of robbery. There are three separate publications touching this strange case in the Harvard Law Library:

*Report of the evidence at the trial of Levi & Laban Kenniston before Hon. Samuel Putnam, on an indictment for the robbery of Major Elijah P. Goodridge, December 19, 1816.* Salem: T. C. Cushing, 1817. (32 pp.). This does not contain the arguments.

*Report of the evidence & arguments of counsel at the trial of Levi and Laban Kenniston . . . for the robbery*



of *Major Elijah Putnam Goodridge*. . . . Boston: J. T. Buckingham, 1817. (63 pp.).

*The sham-robbery, committed by Elijah Putnam Goodridge, on his own person, in Newbury, near Essex Bridge, Dec. 19, 1816, . . . . And his trial with Mr. Ebenezer Pearson, . . . . Also the trial of Levi & Laban Kenniston. By Joseph Jackman. . . . Concord, N.H.: for the author, 1819. (152 pp.)* In part a reprint of the preceding entry. Webster's address to the jury in the trial of the Kennistons is on pages 69-88, and his questions to the witnesses are given. He seems to have taken a less active part in the other two trials, although he examined some of the witnesses.

The Dartmouth College Case is one of great importance in American legal history, and has been cited nearly a thousand times in the *American Reports*.<sup>1</sup> But in a Webster bibliography one would be expected, of course, to mention only a little of even the early historical material on the case. As a matter of fact there are but two items touching it that should have any place in this paper. These are Timothy Farrar's report of the case and Webster's argument before the Supreme Court in Washington. The latter piece is so very rare that a short account of it will be desirable; and we shall find that it illustrates very interestingly the sort of relation that may exist between bibliography and the study of a public event. The college had come into the power of a group of people who, under the name of a university, wished to

<sup>1</sup> Dartmouth College, *Proceedings of Webster Centennial*, pp. 284-85.



abolish the old charter and bring the institution under the control of the state. The question arose as to "Whether this be a permanent, vested interest, or a mere estate at the will of the legislative body," in the words of the "Advertisement" in Farrar's report, and as the case for the college was worked out it involved the proposition that a charter is a contract and that no state shall pass any law affecting the validity of contracts. The controversy between the college and the university is discussed in Shirley's *Dartmouth College Causes* (1879). The college was defeated in the New Hampshire court. The argument of Webster in that court, in behalf of the college, was not reported. On March 10, 1818, Webster argued the case before the Supreme Court of the United States, and his argument must be credited with having, first or last, induced in the court the opinions that resulted nearly a year later in the decision favorable to the college. In the words of Joseph Hopkinson, Webster's colleague, inscribed in the hall honored with Webster's name, the college was "Refounded by Daniel Webster."

From the time of the argument in Washington until the final decision was handed down, both parties were engaged in an extension of the presentation of their cases by trying to influence the minds of those whose opinions would be valuable to the justices of the court. The college party, alarmed by the leakage of information that the case was likely to go against them, endeavored by a very discriminating circulation of Webster's argument to check the moves of the university.

party, who were using as propaganda the decision of the state court.

Of this argument of Webster's there were two, and probably three, different editions in pamphlet form, each without title, author's name, or date. The copies of which we have record up to this time are in the Boston Public Library, the Harvard College and Harvard Law School libraries, the Boston Athenaeum, and the Brynson Library at the Teachers College, New York. Other copies probably exist, but may be difficult to find because of the lack of the usual identifying characteristics. It is quite evident, from the printed references to the argument, that the number of copies was small and the circulation carefully restricted.

Webster had "three or four" copies of his "minutes" printed between March 22 and April 23, 1818, and these he intended to have "remain, except when loaned for a single day, under my own lock and key."<sup>1</sup> Since, in his apparent anxiety lest they be further published, he did not at that time wish President Brown of the college to see them, it is hardly possible that they were printed at Hanover, but more likely at Boston, where he himself was.

On September 9, 1818, he gave away five copies.<sup>2</sup> He would hardly have been able to do this after four or five months of interest in the pamphlet unless out of a larger issue, however liberally the vague "three or four"

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<sup>1</sup> Webster to Mason, April 23, 1818.

<sup>2</sup> Webster to Story, September 9, 1818.

copies may be interpreted. But there seems to be good evidence of a second printing previous to July 16, 1818. On that date, writing to President Brown that a copy had got into the hands of the students, he cautioned the president as to their discretion and said, "The printer also should be admonished not to say anything about it." The implication seems to be that President Brown was expected to caution the printer, who must therefore have been in Hanover or near there. Letters of later dates mention distribution of single copies with great discretion. On September 19, President Brown wrote to Webster as follows:

"In regard to the reprinting, I have some little doubt, whether the benefit to be expected would render the measure expedient, considering how soon it may be hoped the *volume* will appear. The very scarcity of the argument, & the half-secret & cautious manner of the distribution, stimulate curiosity, and add somewhat to the *preciousness* of the document. It has already been, or shortly will be, read by all the *commanding* men of New England & New York; . . . . N.E. & N.Y. *are gained*. Will not this be sufficient for our present purposes? If not, I should recommend the reprinting . . . . if, in your opinion, any thing more *needs* to be done in enlightening the more *eminent* of the professional men of the country let a hundred or two copies be struck off without delay. But even in that case I should recommend the principle of selection in the distribution; for I would not allow the argument to be common, until it is to be sold."



The probable third issue may have been either an authorized or an unauthorized one. On November 9, 1818, Webster wrote to President Brown, "Mr. Hough says, a hundred and fifty copies of our argument have been printed at the *Patriot* office and distributed. I hope they will do no hurt."

The process of identifying these issues may be aided by supposing that the second was printed at Hanover, probably from a carefully prepared manuscript by Webster now in the Dartmouth College Library, approximating the form as printed in the reports of Farrar and Wheaton; and the third at the *Patriot* office in Concord; and that the copies of the first issue were, as Webster says, "hastily written off, with much abbreviation; and contain little else than quotation from the cases. All the nonsense is left out. There is no title or name to it."<sup>1</sup>

The copies at Harvard, the Boston Athenaeum, and the Teachers College are alike, having 43 pages. The signatures number 1 to 6, five of four leaves, and the last a single fold of two leaves. There is no heading or distinguishing mark, except a double rule, the upper line thicker than the lower, above the 23 lines of text on the first page. There are 39 lines on most pages, and 18 on page 43, the last one consisting of the latter half of the word "repu-tation." The copy at the Boston Athenaeum has marginal notes in Webster's hand, and on the blank portion of the last page is the beginning, so much as the binder's knife has left, of the final paragraph of

<sup>1</sup> Webster to Mason, April 23, 1818.



the argument as printed in Farrar's *Report* and in the *Works*.

The copy at the Boston Public Library has 26 pages, signatures A-C in fours and D in one (or two). There is nothing to characterize this edition typographically; page 1 has 47 lines, page 3, 53 lines, and page 26, 9 lines.

At the bottom of page 17 of the 26-page edition is the meaningless sentence, "Both president and professors have *freeholds*, notwithstanding the fellows may be liable to be suspended," etc. The compositor skipped from one italicized *freeholds* to another, omitting two lines in which a second sentence begins, "All the authorities speak of fellowships in colleges as *freeholds*," etc. There is another omission, of the words "her grants," on page 14, line 36, in the sentence reading, "What hinders Vermont . . . from resuming, at her own pleasure?" In the other edition this sentence is on page 24, line 4.

The implication that the copy in small type is one of an unauthorized edition is strengthened by the fact that where the two differ in phraseology, the one in larger type agrees with the version printed in Farrar's *Report*. The two differ radically in the use of italics and in paragraphs. The smaller-type edition is apt to have the *u* in "governour," etc.

The evidence of the differences in wording is not conclusive as to which was the earlier, the changes being such as Webster was in the habit of making. The 26-page edition has "by this court" at the top of page 21, where, on page 34 of the other, the paragraph begins "It has already

been decided in this court." Toward the bottom of page 42 are the phrases "not of ordinary importance" and "have become in a high degree respectable" (line 27), where the other reads, page 25, line 35, "of no ordinary" and "have been in a high degree."

The allusion to a volume, and to selling it, is to Farrar's *Report* of the case, contemplated since 1817, but not actually published until after the middle of 1819. Webster had a large share in its preparation and was very solicitous about its form and accuracy.<sup>1</sup> As he wrote to Joseph Hopkinson, March 22, 1819, "it is a book which is to make some noise in the world. . . . This is a work which you must do for *reputation*. Our College cause will be known to our children's children. Let us take care that the rogues shall not be ashamed of their grandfathers." The title of the book is *Report of the case of the Trustees of Dartmouth College against William H. Woodward. Argued and determined in the Superior Court of Judicature of the State of New-Hampshire, November 1817. And on error in the Supreme Court of the United States, February 1819. By Timothy Farrar Counsellor at Law.* Portsmouth, N.H.: John W. Foster; Boston: West, Richardson, and Lord; J. J. Williams, printer, Exeter ([4]+406 pp.).

In Farrar's *Report* the argument is on pages 238-83, and in Henry Wheaton's *Reports*, Vol. 3, it is on pages 551-99. It is given in the *Speeches and Forensic Arguments* (1830) on pages [110]-137. In the *Writings and Speeches*, it is to be found in Vol. 10, pages [194]-233;

<sup>1</sup> Shirley, pp. 205, 211, 271-72, 283-85, 290-98.

and the very moving peroration in Vol. 15, pages 11-13, this peroration having been preserved for us in the eulogy of Rufus Choate, where it occurs on pages 37-39 of the hundred-page edition. The pamphlet does not contain the peroration, and a considerable part of the speech as delivered is omitted in all the reports.

Senator Lodge calls the argument the landmark in the life of Webster that "placed him before the country as one of the first and the most eloquent of her constitutional lawyers." Judge David Cross said in 1901, "The legal argument occupied five hours and the peroration, as described by Professor Goodrich, was the most brilliant ever heard in that court. The judges and the listeners were moved to tears as Mr. Webster appealed with eloquent words and trembling lips, for the life of the College. His argument prevailed and a construction of the Constitution of the United States was then given of far-reaching importance, not only for this College, but for every eleemosynary institution in the United States."<sup>1</sup> Webster's announcement to his brother of the decision of the court has been printed in a "*Facsimile of letter sent by Daniel Webster to his brother Esekiel announcing the decision. . . .*" Quarto page, with title in lower-left corner; quotation marks as given.

*Boston Slavery Memorial* is the short title sometimes attached to a production written, in part at least, by Webster.<sup>2</sup> The true title begins *A memorial to the*

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<sup>1</sup> *Dartmouth Webster Centennial*, p. 244.

<sup>2</sup> The authorship is discussed in *Writings and Speeches*, XV, 72-73, and in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 2d ser., VII, 119.



*Congress of the United States, on the subject of restraining the increase of slavery in new states to be admitted into the Union.* . . . . Boston: Sewell Phelps, 1819. (22 pp.). This was republished, in part or whole, in *The Nebraska Question comprising speeches . . . . with the history of the Missouri Compromise Daniel Webster's Memorial in regard to it.* . . . . New York, Redfield, 1854. (119 pp.). On pages 9-12 is "Daniel Webster on the Missouri Compromise. . . . 'Memorial . . . .'" The *Memorial* is contained, also, in *Daniel Webster on slavery.* . . . . Boston: William Carter & Brother, 1861. (60 pp.) This *Memorial*, the text of which may be found in the "National Edition," XV, 55-72, may have been printed again, for in 1891 Rev. Dr. Edward Everett Hale expressed his intention of printing it in a pamphlet;<sup>1</sup> but no such edition has been noted.

In 1820 Webster delivered the first of his great memorial or occasional addresses, characterized by Edward Everett as "in some respects the most remarkable of his performances": *A discourse, delivered at Plymouth, December 22, 1820. In commemoration of the first settlement of New-England.* Boston: Wells and Lilly, 1821. (104 pp.). The same printers issued a second edition (so marked), in 1821; this had 56 pages. A third (so marked), with 76 pages, followed in 1825. Regarding this discourse, John Adams said in a letter to Webster, December 23, 1821, "If there be an American who can read it without tears, I am not that American," and

<sup>1</sup> Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., 2d ser., VII, 119.



further, "Mr. Burke is no longer entitled to the praise—the most consummate orator of modern times."<sup>1</sup> Edward Everett says of the address, "It obtained at once a wide circulation throughout the country, and gave to Mr. Webster a position among the popular writers and speakers of the United States scarcely below that which he had already attained as a lawyer and a statesman." A review, said to be by C. Cushing, appeared in the *North American Review*, XV, 36, July, 1822, with the simple title, *Mr. Webster's Discourse*.

By the Massachusetts constitutional convention in 1821 Webster was appointed a member of a committee to *Report upon the constitutional rights and privileges of Harvard College; and upon the donations that have been made to it by this commonwealth*. The report, with title beginning as above, was printed by Russell and Gardner, 1821 (16 pp.), without Webster's name on the title-page, but it is signed on page 16, "For the Committee, D. Webster."

Again in Congress in December, 1823, this time from a Massachusetts district, on the eighth of that month he introduced a resolution for the appointment of an agent or commissioner to Greece, a country then struggling against Turkey for her independence. On January 19 he delivered a speech of which Dr. Fisher says—and others have used almost the identical words—"It was reprinted wherever the English language was spoken, translated into Greek, Spanish, and, indeed, all the languages of Europe

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<sup>1</sup> *Private Correspondence* (1857), I, 318.

and circulated in South America." These foreign editions would be especially interesting in this day when we are thinking so much of the rights of small nations. Dr. Fisher says, further, that "there is every reason to believe that Webster's words must have contributed to the creation throughout the civilized world of that favorable feeling towards Greece which had not a little to do with her ultimate success."

The speech has the title: *Mr. Webster's speech on the Greek revolution*. Washington City: John S. Meehan, Columbian office, 1824. (50 pp.). Two Boston editions appeared, one, with title beginning the same as the above, "*From the Washington edition*." Boston: Cummings, Hilliard, & Co.; University Press, Hilliard & Metcalf; 1824. (39 pp.). The other consists of pages 1-14 of a pamphlet without a title-page, with caption heading: *Eighteenth Congress, Jan. 1824. Discussion of the Greek question, in the House of Representatives*. (footed:) Office of the Howard Gazette, No. 1 Dock Square. This edition has 48 pages and contains also the speeches of others on the same question. Webster's speech appears to be much abbreviated. An echo of this occasion was heard recently when in 1915 appeared a 20-page pamphlet by Professor Morton Prince, reprinted from the *New York Times* of November 21, 1915, with title *From Webster to Wilson; the disintegration of an ideal*. Pages 3-13, "I. The ideal," concern Webster's resolution or his speech in favor of Greece; and pages 14-20, "II. The contrast," concern the American official neutrality in 1914 and 1915.

In the spring of 1824, Webster made one of two frequently discussed tariff speeches, this one against the tariff: *Speech of Mr. Webster, upon the tariff; . . . April, 1824*. Washington: Gales & Seaton, 1824. (47 pp.). An other edition has the imprint, Boston: Wells and Lilly, and Cummings, Hilliard, & Co., 1824. (47 pp.). There is also an edition with title simply "Speech" around which has been pasted printed text reading "Mr. Webster upon the Tariff; April, 1824." No imprint or footing.

In the same year there appeared a *Circular* of eight pages, without title-page, half-title, or running-title, but with the above-mentioned single-word caption. It is signed by Daniel Webster and 13 others, "Directors," Boston, September 20, 1824. This concerns the proposed erection of the Bunker Hill Monument, and solicits co-operation and interest. Here it is appropriate to go back six years to an article that was published in the *North American Review*, VII, 20, July, 1818 (pp. 225-58), on the Battle of Bunker Hill and General Putnam; published in the guise of a review of a pamphlet on the battle and a letter on General Putnam's character. George Ticknor says the article "is understood to have been written by Mr. Webster" and that "the whole review is strong, and no one hereafter can write the history of the period it refers to, without consulting it. The opening description of the battle is beautiful and picturesque."

The study that Webster put into this article stood him in good stead when he came to prepare the second of his memorable occasional addresses, if there is truth in the



impression given by his biographers that it was in the main composed on a trout-fishing expedition. Webster himself tells us that "Venerable men" originated in the waters of Marshpee Brook. As to the final form of the address, Professor Ogg says, "Its details, however, were the ground of much solicitude, and even after its delivery the author consumed no small amount of time in the revision of his manuscript preparatory to printing." The oration, or selections from it, has been printed a great many times as a school text, usually in combination with other of Webster's speeches and sometimes with Washington's *Farewell Address*.

The address passed immediately through five Boston editions, the first with title *An address delivered at the laying of the corner stone of the Bunker Hill monument. By Daniel Webster*. Boston: Cummings, Hilliard, & Co., 1825. (40 pp.). Later Boston imprints are . . . . *An address delivered at the laying of the corner stone of the Bunker Hill monument, June 17, 1825. By Daniel Webster*. Boston: Brainard & Co., 1843. ([1 p.]+pp. [57]-70.);—[SAME TITLE]. Boston: Tappan & Dennet, 1843. ([1 p.]+pp. [57]-70.). These are two issues of a reprint from Webster's *Speeches and Forensic Arguments* (1835), i. [57]-70. A curious particular is the printing of the text beginning with page [57] on the verso of the title-page and ending on the recto of the last leaf, instead of beginning on a recto and ending on a verso as in the original; thus, the odd-numbered pages are versos and the even are rectos. This leaves the verso of page 70 free for the advertisements



of the publishers. The signature-marks, 8 and 9, of the original edition appear on pages [57] and 65, and the (new) marks F and F\* on the signature lines of pages 61 and 65. In the caption-title the lines are divided through the word Bunker without a hyphen, but the hyphen occurs in the original.

More than one translation was issued in 1825, e.g.: *Discurso pronunciado al poner la piedra angular del monumento de Bunker-Hill . . . Traducido por José Maria Heredia*. Nueva-York: se halla en la libreria de Wilder y Campbell, . . . en la imprenta de José Desnoues, . . . 1825. (34 pp.). This ought not to be catalogued as published by W. Y. Campbell, as one library has it. Lafayette wrote to Webster, December 28, 1825, in these words, as reported, "Your Bunker Hill has been translated in French and other languages, to the very great profit of European readers."<sup>1</sup> Quérard's *La France littéraire* gives us the title *Colonne de Bunker-Hill, monument élevé à la mémoire des patriotes américains, morts sur le champ de bataille où fut remportée la première victoire de l'indépendance*. Paris: Eymery, 1825. (40 pp. 8°. 1 fr. 50 c.). "Cette brochure se compose du Discours prononcé par M. Webster, et d'un Discours de M. Kératry."

Dr. Fisher calls the address "far better in diction and style than the Plymouth oration. It was more Websterian." Professor Ogg says, "It was always the opinion of Webster that the oration at Plymouth surpassed that delivered at Bunker Hill. In the breadth of its sweep, and

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<sup>1</sup> *Private Correspondence* (1857), I, 400.

the quality of majesty, it undeniably did so. In sheer eloquence, however, it may be doubted whether anything that Webster ever uttered surpassed his address upon the later occasion to the survivors of the battle, his apostrophe to General Warren, and his encomium of Lafayette."

The next year occurred the *Speech of Mr. Webster, of Mass. in the House of Representatives on the Panama mission. Delivered on the 14th April, 1826.* Washington, Davis & Force, 1826. (61 pp.).

The third important occasional address was that pronounced on Adams and Jefferson, deceased on the fiftieth anniversary of the declaration of American independence: *A discourse in commemoration of the lives and services of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, delivered in Faneuil Hall, Boston, August 2, 1826. By Daniel Webster.* Boston: Cummings, Hilliard, & Co., 1826. (62 pp.). No other contemporary edition, as a separate, has been noted, a remarkable fact, if, as Dr. Fisher supposes, "It had an immense popularity at the time, because, although nearly two generations had grown up since the Revolution, they had nothing to read about it; and the novelty of an actual debate on the great question at issue very naturally delighted them." This oration contains the fine passage on eloquence and the account of a debate in the Continental Congress, with the famous supposititious speech of John Adams.

Concerning the speech on the tariff bill of 1828, when Webster, who had been promoted to the Senate, supported the bill, some catalogues give the impression that there

were two editions published, with different paging: *Remarks of Mr. Webster in the Senate of the United States, May 9, 1828, on the tariff bill*. Boston: Boston Daily Advertiser, W. L. Lewis, 1828. (32 pp.); and also: Boston, 1828. (48 pp.). The fact is that the first has or may have appended, as pages 33-48, Webster's speech of April 25, 1828, on relief of officers of the Revolution. The question is, whether the first was issued separately, and whether variations occur when so found.

In 1830 Daniel Webster delivered his *Reply to Hayne*, his most famous speech in American repute, and often called his greatest. It clinched his reputation as our greatest orator. It revealed to the nation her champion of national unity under the constitution. There is perhaps as much to be said, in a bibliographical way, about this speech as about any in American history. It appears with titles mentioning three different things, Foot's resolution, the public lands, and Mr. Hayne. It is doubtful, however, whether it is well known except as the reply to Hayne.

The question naturally arises as to which was the first edition of the speech, a question not to be answered off-hand. Nor can the order of editions be determined without further investigation than is possible for this paper. A first edition is interesting *per se* to collectors and bibliographers, but its true value is, of course, in its being source material. But which is the source when one word is spoken and a different one printed with the author's revision? And who can tell whether the thought swift



from the tongue to the eager ear does not work as great an effect as the measured message from paper to eye? Webster gave his speeches careful revision before publication, but his words were told over the country by those who heard them, and it might have been possible largely to reconstruct them if he had never committed them to paper.

The authorized first edition was undoubtedly one with the imprint of Gales and Seaton, who were the editors and publishers of the *National Intelligencer*. In the Boston Public Library there is a volume containing the original shorthand report by Joseph Gales, the speech written out from it by Mr. and Mrs. Gales, Webster's revision of this, partly in his own handwriting, and some notes approved by Webster; and with these there is a copy of the edition first in the list given below. But there is no evidence to show that pains were taken to prove this printed copy the veritable edition, issue, or impression approved by Webster, although such pains may have been taken. It will be necessary, indeed, to collate many Gales and Seaton copies to determine what were different editions or issues, and to compare them with the manuscript volume to discover the most approved issue. From this manuscript probably resulted the speech as published in the *National Intelligencer* in Washington on February 23, 25, and 27, 1830. Other editions had to wait for this,<sup>1</sup> and were based on it. But it has not been shown that the speech as published in the above-named newspaper is identical in text

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<sup>1</sup> McMaster, *Daniel Webster*, pp. 186-87.



either with the manuscript or with the issue first in the list below. When it comes to choosing a standard text, what is to be followed, the manuscript, the *Intelligencer*, the supposed first pamphlet edition, Webster's revision made late in his life, or something of all these influenced by the reports of his auditors?<sup>1</sup> The following separate editions have been noted:

*Speech of Daniel Webster, in reply to Mr. Hayne, of South Carolina: the resolution of Mr. Foot, of Connecticut, relative to the public lands, being under consideration. Delivered in the Senate, January 26, 1830.* Washington: Gales & Seaton, 1830. (96 pp.). Of this edition there were at least two issues, differing certainly on the last page. The one mentioned above has not the words, "Ah sir," near the end of "Mr. Webster's last remarks," on page 96. It is well, perhaps, to note here that these last remarks were spoken in the natural course of debate, and are added to editions of the main speech because amplifying to a certain extent the ideas there expressed. The collation of these two issues is: p. [1], [title-page, as above]; p. [2], [blank]; pp. [3]-85, [text, with heading]: Speech; pp. [86]-92, Notes; pp. [93]-96, Mr. Webster's last remarks.

*Speech of Daniel Webster, in reply to Mr. Hayne, of South Carolina: the resolution offered by Mr. Foot, relative to the public lands, being under consideration. Delivered in the Senate, January 26, 1830.* Washington: Gales & Seaton, 1830. (76 pp.). Of this edition there were probably two issues, differing on the title-page (one having "rely" for "reply") and in the first line of page 61, where the word "upon" is corrected to "repose."

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Lindsay Swift, when editing *The Great Debate between Hayne and Webster* (1898), used the edition of Boston: Carter & Hendee, 1830, the *Works*, 1851, and the manuscript. The best account of the manuscript volume is by Mr. Swift in this edition.

[SAME TITLE AS LAST, varying]: . . . *Mr. Foot, of Connecticut, relative to* n.p., n.d. (32 pp. no title-page; title from caption, p. [1].).

[SAME TITLE AS FIRST MENTIONED ABOVE] New-York: Elliott & Palmer, 1830. (72 pp.).

*Second speech of Hon. Daniel Webster, delivered in the Senate of the United States, January 26, 1830. With a sketch of the preceding debate on the resolution of Mr. Foot, respecting the sale, &c, of public lands,* Boston: Carter and Hendee, 1830. (16+76 pp.).

*Speech in Senate, January 26, 1830.* Richardson, Lord & Holbrook, and Beals & Homer. (40 pp.).†

*Speeches of Messrs. Hayne and Webster, in the United States Senate, on the resolution of Mr. Foot, January, 1830.* New Haven: J. H. Benham, 1849. (85 pp.).

[SAME TITLE]: Hartford: Case, Tiffany & Co., 1850. (84 pp.).

[SAME TITLE, varying by omission of comma after "Webster"]: Boston: Redding and Co., 1852. (84 pp.).

*Speeches of Hayne and Webster in the United States Senate, on the resolution of Mr. Foot, January, 1830. Also Mr. Webster's celebrated speech on the slavery compromise bill, March 7, 1850.* Boston, A. T. Hotchkiss & W. P. Fetridge, 1853. (115 pp.).

*Webster and Hayne's celebrated speeches in the United States Senate, on Mr. Foot's resolution of January, 1830. Also, . . . speech . . . 1850, . . . Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson and Brothers, n.d. (115 pp.).*

Webster's great "Reply" is called in some editions "*Second speech*"; the first reply being that delivered January 20, of which one edition is known: *Speech of Daniel Webster, on the subject of the public lands, &c. delivered in the Senate of the United States, January 20, 1830.* Washington: Gales & Seaton, 1830. (28 pp.).

The orator's letters, written February 27 to Mason, and March 8 to Dutton, allude to his revision of the

speech, but whether for newspaper or for separate editions is not clear. In the letter of March 8 is an amusing passage that shows what difficulties an author, with the best of care, may have in establishing an approved text. In this case Webster spoke of "treason made easy," but the printer made it "treason madcosy," and so it must have been at first issued, but after correcting the proof twice and finding that he "could not make it easy" Webster eliminated the whole sentence.<sup>1</sup> The demand for the speech was so great that about forty thousand copies were issued from the *National Intelligencer* office, and it is said that perhaps twenty different editions were printed at other places.<sup>2</sup> These should be searched for, especially such as were not printed as integral parts of newspapers and other periodicals; it is possible that some of those not listed were mere newspaper reports. However, the statement has been made that "It is hardly too much to say that no speech in the English language was ever so universally diffused or so generally read."

"This great speech," says Senator Lodge, "marks the highest point attained by Mr. Webster as a public man. He never surpassed it, he never equalled it afterwards. It was his zenith intellectually, politically, and as an orator. . . . The vigorous sarcasm with which Mr. Webster depicted practical nullification, and showed that it was nothing more or less than revolution when actually carried out, was really the conclusive answer to the nullifying doctrine. . . . He defined the character of the

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<sup>1</sup> *Private Correspondence* (1857), I, 494.

<sup>2</sup> McMaster, pp. 188-89.



Union as it existed in 1830, and that definition so magnificently stated and with such grand eloquence, went home to the hearts of the people, and put into noble words the sentiment which they felt but had not expressed. This was the significance of the reply to Hayne."

The plane of public regard that Webster had now attained is shown in the statement that the first question asked of foreign visitors after this time was, "Have you seen Daniel Webster?" It is shown in his becoming a potential presidential candidate, resulting in the Massachusetts *Legislative nomination of Daniel Webster for the presidency*. 1835. (15 pp.). We find evidence of it in those public dinners that were given him from time to time as testimonials of his service to the country, on all of which occasions he made addresses: *Speeches*, Kent and Webster (New York). Boston, 1831 (24 pp.); *Address* (Pittsburgh). Boston, 1833 (32 pp.); *Reception* (Boston). Boston, 1842 (31 pp.); *Speech* (Baltimore). New-York, 1843 (32 pp.); *Speech*, (Philadelphia, 1846). Philadelphia, 1847 (16 + 88 pp. port.); and Washington, 1847 (32 pp.); *Speeches* (Annapolis). Washington, 1851; *Reception* (Boston). Boston, 1852. (32 pp.).

At the New York dinner in 1831, "he gave his hearers to understand very clearly that the nullification agitation was not at an end." The agitation came to a head when, South Carolina having passed an ordinance nullifying the national tariff law, Congress took up the "force bill." Calhoun made his argument for nullification, the most formidable, it is said, that Webster ever had to meet, and



Webster replied on February 16, 1833, in the speech called *The constitution not a compact between sovereign states. A speech by the Hon. Daniel Webster in the Senate of the United States, Jan., 1833, in reply to the resolutions offered by Mr. Calhoun, of South Carolina, affirming the right of secession.* n.p., n.d. (44 pp. No title-page; title from caption, p. [1].). This speech was made on February 16; consequently the date in the above-named title is wrong.

—[SAME TITLE, varying slightly in punctuation] New York: Bergen & Tripp, 1861. (Cover-title & 44 pp.). Caption on p. 1 repeats title.

—[SAME TITLE, varying] [London: Woodfall and Kinder], n.d. (84 pp.) No title-page; title from caption, p. [1]; printer from p. 84.

*Speech of Mr. Webster . . . in reply to Mr. Calhoun's speech, on the bill "Further to provide for the collection of duties on imports." Delivered on the 16th of February, 1833.* Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1833. (48 pp.).

*Speeches of John C. Calhoun and Daniel Webster, . . . on the enforcing bill.* Boston: Beals, Homer & Co., and Russell, Odiorne & Co., 1833. (Cover-title & 89 pp.). Of this pamphlet, pages [45]–89 contain "In Senate, Saturday, February 16, 1833. Mr. Webster's speech, in reply to Mr. Calhoun, on the revenue collection bill."

An edition giving in addition the speeches of Calhoun and Webster on February 26, after the "force bill" had passed, was published as *Supplement to The Political Register, covering the speeches of Messrs. Calhoun, Webster,*

and Poindexter, on the revenue collection bill. [Washington: Duff Green, 1833.] (var. p.).

Curtis says that "The speech in reply to Mr. Calhoun was far less rhetorical than that in reply to Mr. Hayne," but that "Perhaps there is no speech ever made by Mr. Webster that is so close in its reasoning, so compact, and so powerful."

In 1830, Webster had taken part in what Curtis calls "one of the most remarkable criminal prosecutions on record," the *Trial of John Francis Knapp . . . . for the murder of Capt. Joseph White, . . . . at Salem, July 20, 1830. . . . .* Boston: Dutton & Wentworth, 1830. (52 pp.). Also printed as: *A report of the evidence and points of law . . . . Salem, W. & S. B. Ives, 1830.* Reprinted with an Appendix . . . . Salem edition, 1830. (72 pp.).

In 1831 was published *Speeches of Messrs. Webster, Frelinghuysen and others, at the Sunday School meeting in the city of Washington, February 16, 1831.* Philadelphia, American Sunday School Union, 1831. (24 pp.).

The next year appeared *Speech at the National Republican Convention, in Worcester, Oct. 12, 1832.* Boston: Simpson & Clapp, 1832. (43 pp.). There are at least three variants of this edition that have the imprint of "J. E. Hinckley & Co., Printers, No. 14, Water Street" on the back of the title, and one that is without it.

This speech was also printed as a part of the *Journal of the Proceedings of the National Republican Convention, held at Worcester, October 11, 1832.* Boston: Stimpson &

Clapp, 72 Washington Street. J. E. Hinckley & Co., Printers, 14 Water Street, 1832. Beginning with the heading "Mr. Webster's Speech" on page 35, the speech occupies the rest of the pamphlet. The signatures, of 4 leaves each, are numbered 1-10. A slip of "Correction," 7 lines, for page 27, sometimes follows the title.

Of this speech in the two forms just mentioned, twelve copies have been found to differ each in some respect from all the others. The speech is printed on six sheets, five with four leaves and the last with two leaves. There are variations in each of these sheets, running from two each in the fourth and fifth sheets to eight in the second sheet. The sheets appear in various combinations; the "Journal" sheets being in some cases combined with the "Speech" sheets, giving such paging as: 1-72, 41-43; 1-40, 9-43; and 1-40, 73-75. Moreover, they vary in some cases without apparent consistency as to either the "forms" or the leaves that might be expected to agree or differ together. The copies thus present an opportunity for an interesting study in bibliographical genealogy.

As to textual differences, the most important is on page 13, second paragraph, where two lines were either added or deleted, reading "She [England] manifests no weak or pretended jealousy of foreign influence, from the freest intercourse with the commercial world." A variant of the passage reads, "by reason of the freest." Aside from the interesting question of this passage, which may have been eliminated for fear of its misinterpretation at a time when there was considerable free-trade discussion,



there are at least four differences in line-endings on the page, the last line closing with "constitutional," "of a con-," "homage to," and "no hom-," in various copies. On pages 41 and 42 the changes are verbal, one passage reading "in that State; nor can I doubt," and again "State. I cannot doubt;" the other "The gaze of the sons of liberty, everywhere, is upon us, anxiously, intently upon us. They may see us fall," the change being from "They" to "It" or perhaps vice versa. In the same sheet there are differences in the line-endings of the last two pages, showing that the type was reset. In one copy the paragraph at the bottom of page 4 has suffered a typographical mishap, losing the final letter of two lines. This may be related to a copy with this page wrongly numbered.

The copies examined are at Harvard, the Boston Athenaeum, the Boston Public Library, the New York Public Library, American Antiquarian Society, and in the possession of the writer. The substance of the evidence seems to show that there was a demand for copies of the *Speech* which the printer had difficulty in supplying.

In the same year as the last, Webster delivered a memorial oration little known popularly as compared with those at Plymouth and Bunker Hill, or that on Adams and Jefferson, but containing much that is notable. This comprises pages [2]-11 of *Speeches and other proceedings at the public dinner in honor of the centennial anniversary of Washington*. . . . City of Washington: Jonathan Elliot, 1832. (32 pp.). The same year also Webster opposed the



naming of Van Buren as minister to England, and delivered the speeches contained on pages 11-14 and 40-42 of *Debate in the Senate, on the nomination of Martin Van Buren . . . .* n.p., n.d. (55 pp.)

An 1834 title runs *New-York Jubilee. Report, (the only one extant,) of the eloquent and patriotic speech of the Honorable Daniel Webster, delivered from a window of his sister's house, in Greenwich-street, on the occasion of the great Whig jubilee, at the Castle garden, April 15, 1834. . . .* New-York, published for the proprietors, John Lomas, printed by William Applegate, 1834. (8 pp.).

In the year 1838 Webster delivered at Niblo's Saloon, otherwise called Niblo's Garden, in New York, what Senator Lodge calls "the greatest purely political speech which he ever delivered," in which he reviewed President Jackson's administration "with the greatest severity." It is notable not only in regard to the subject of finances, but also in that he opposed the annexation of Texas, and that he expressed his general ideas on the slavery question, already clearly stated several years before this, and yet surprisingly considered in 1850 as a new attitude: *Speech delivered by Daniel Webster, at Niblo's Saloon, in New York, on the 15th March, 1837.* n.p., n.d. (4+32 pp.). This also appeared with the title: *Speech delivered by Daniel Webster at Niblo's Saloon, in New-York, on the 15th March, 1837.* New-York: Harper & Bros., 1837. (Cover-title & 35 pp.). Webster's position on slavery in the District of Columbia is set forth in a pamphlet published with caption title as follows: [*In Senate of the United States,*

Wednesday, January 10, 1838.] *Remarks of Mr. Webster on the following resolution, moved by Mr. Clay, as a substitute for the 5th of Mr. Calhoun's resolutions . . . .* n.p., n.d. (4 pp.). No title-page. The brackets occur as given. Near the middle of page 1, "States" is misprinted "Srates." There is reported to be an issue of this speech with 8 pages.

In 1840 there was issued a *Report of the agricultural meeting, held in Boston, January 13, 1840, containing the remarks on that occasion of the Hon. Daniel Webster*. Salem: Gazette office, 1840. (36+8 pp.). Webster's speech is on pages 8-30. It is noticeable because, as he had just returned from England, where he had become much interested in the English agricultural methods, his opinion on the subject was occasioning wide interest.

A striking characteristic of the decade from 1830 to 1840 was its preoccupation with the national finances. When we consider the informed, consistent, and forceful speeches that Daniel Webster delivered on financial questions during this period, we shall not wonder that the first President Harrison offered him the Treasury as an alternative to the State portfolio. A list of these speeches, with abbreviated titles, follows:

*Mr. Webster's speeches upon the question of renewing the charter of the Bank of the United States. Delivered May 25, and 28, 1832.* Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1832. (16 pp.).

*Veto message of President Andrew Jackson, on returning the bank bill July, 1832; together with the speech of the Hon. Daniel Webster.* Lowell: n.d. (68 pp.).

*Speech of the Hon. Daniel Webster, on the President's veto of the bank bill. July 11, 1832. n.p., n.d. (28 pp.).*

—[SAME TITLE] Boston: J. E. Hinckley and Co., 1832. (32 pp.).

*Extracts from Mr. Webster's speeches, in 1832, on the passage of the bill for rechartering the Bank, and on the veto message. n.p., n.d. (Sheet, 53×32½ cm.).†*

*Remarks of Mr. Webster, on the removal of the deposits, and on the subject of a national bank: January, 1834. Washington: Gales & Seaton, 1834. (23 pp.).*

*Remarks of Mr. Webster on different occasions, on the removal of the deposits; and on the subject of a national bank: January and February, 1834. Washington: Gales & Seaton, 1834. (32 pp.).* There is record of an edition with this title having 16 pages only; it may be an incomplete copy of the 32-page edition.

*Mr. Webster's report. Report on the removal of the deposits, made by Mr. Webster, on the 5th of February, 1834. Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1834. (23 pp.).*

*23d Congress, 1st session. In Senate of the United States. February 5, 1834. Mr. Webster, from the Committee on finance. Report on the removal of the public deposits. n.p., n.d. (21 pp.)* No title-page; title from caption. "[72]" appears as shoulder note on all pages.

*Remarks of Mr. Webster, on the subject of the deranged currency, February 22, 1834. Broadside. n.p., n.d. (Letterpress 16×11½ inches. 4 columns.).*

*Speech of Mr. Webster, on moving for leave to introduce a bill to continue the Bank of the United States, March 18, 1834. Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1834. (16 pp.).*

*Speech of Hon. Daniel Webster . . . . March 18, on asking leave . . . . no t. p. (8 pp.).*

*Mr. Webster's speech on the President's protest; delivered May 7, 1834. Washington: Gales & Seaton, 1834. (31 pp.).*



*Speech of Mr. Webster, of Massachusetts, on the subject of the three millions appropriation, January 14, 1836.* Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1836. (16 pp.).

*Speech of Mr. Webster, January 14, 1836, on Mr. Benton's resolutions.* Boston: John H. Eastburn, 1836. (20 pp.).

*Speech of Mr. Webster, of Massachusetts, on introducing his proposition for the distribution of the surplus revenue. In Senate of the United States, Tuesday, May 31, 1836.* Washington: Gales & Seaton, 1836. (15 pp.).

*The specie circular. Speech of Mr. Webster, (of Massachusetts.) In the Senate, December 21, 1836.* n.p., n.d. (16 pp.). No title-page; title from caption.

*Mr. Webster's speech on Mr. Ewing's resolution to rescind the treasury order . . . . delivered . . . . December 21, 1836.* Wash.: Gales & Seaton, 1837. (37 pp.).

*Speeches of Henry Clay & Daniel Webster, Sept. 25, 1837, on the sub-treasury bill.* Norwich, [Conn.]: J. Dunham, n.d. (48 pp.). Webster's speech is on pp. [23]-48. Typographical variations occur in copies of this pamphlet.

*Mr. Webster's speech on the currency. Delivered September 28, 1837.* Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1837. (26 pp.).

*The protest against expunging. In the Senate of the United States, Monday, January 16, 1837.* n.p., n.d. (2 pp.). No title-page; title from caption, p. [1]. The second page has the page number, 2, and at the bottom, in the center, the figure 4. There are variations in copies of this, the first page of some copies ending "done," and that of others ending "done; whether by era-".

*Mr. Webster's remarks on the pre-emption bill. Delivered in the Senate U.S., January 29, 1838.* n.p., n.d. (7 p.). No title-page; title from caption, p. [1].

*Mr. Webster's second speech on the sub-treasury bill. Delivered March 12, 1838.* n.p., n.d. (31 pp.).

—[SAME TITLE] Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1838. (60 pp.).



—[SAME TITLE, SAME EDITION AS LAST]: an issue in which page 58 is on the leaf with page 60 and page 59 on the leaf with 57.

—[SAME TITLE] New-York: S. Colman and J. G. Wilson, etc.; 1838. (24 pp.). Pages 22-24 are printed in smaller type than the others.

*Mr. Webster's speech on the bill imposing additional duties as depositaries, commonly called the sub-treasury bill; delivered on March 12, 1838: and his speech of the 22d March, in answer to Mr. Calhoun.* Washington: Gales & Seaton, 1838. (111 pp.).

—[SAME TITLE] Boston: John H. Eastburn, 1838. (92 pp.),

*Mr. Webster's speech in answer to Mr. Calhoun, March 22, 1838-*n.p., n.d. (19 pp.).

*Mr. Webster's speech at Saratoga, N.Y. August 19, 1840.* Boston: Perkins and Marvin, 1840: (28 pp.).

*Speech of Daniel Webster, at the great mass meeting at Saratoga. New York, on 19th August, 1840.* [Nashville, Tenn.: B. R. M'Kenzie, 1840.] (12 pp.). Title from caption.

*Webster on the currency. Speech at the Merchants' meeting, New York, on Monday, September 28, 1840.* New York: E. French, 1840. (24 pp.).

*Remarks of Mr. Webster and Mr. Wright, on the President's message, the finances, and debts of the nation. In Senate, December 16, 1840.* n.p., n.d. (16 pp.). No title-page; title from caption. This pamphlet includes the speeches of Wright and Webster on December 17.

*Mr. Webster's remarks on that part of the president's message which relates to the revenue and finances. December 16 and 17, 1840.* Washington: Intelligencer office, 1840. (12 pp.).

This list of editions may give a small notion of a tremendous record of speech-making by Webster during that decade, the larger part of it on financial questions; strenuous, yet up to 1840, as Senator Lodge

says, with "a small and select body of listeners, all more or less familiar with the subject. In 1840 he was obliged to present these same topics, with all their infinite detail and inherent dryness, to vast popular audiences, but nevertheless he achieved a marvelous success." This was in the campaign to elect Harrison, whom Webster supported. The campaign speeches, with the exception of those noted above on August 19 and September 28, do not come down to us as separates; the sole other item to find place here being the *Bunker Hill declaration*. *September 10, 1840*. n.p., n.d. (12 pp.), signed by "Daniel Webster, president," reviewing former administrations and pledging support to Harrison's candidacy. In the popular speeches on the currency in 1840, Senator Lodge continues, "Mr. Webster showed, in handling his subject, not only the variety, richness, and force which he had displayed in the Senate, but the capacity of presenting it in a way thoroughly adapted to the popular mind, and yet at the same time of preserving the impressive tone of a dignified statesman, without any degeneration into mere stump oratory. This wonderful series of speeches produced the greatest possible effect."

Harrison was elected president, and offered a cabinet position to Webster. He chose, not the Treasury, but fortunately the State Department. The fifth decade of his public career is marked conspicuously by questions of foreign relations. The first was that of the "Caroline" or "McLeod's case," which, together with the impressment and boundary issues, threatened us with war with

Great Britain. *Correspondence between Mr. Webster and Lord Ashburton: 1. on McLeod's case; 2. on the Creole case; 3. on the subject of impressment.* n.p., n.d. (32 pp.). Incidentally, the Creole case deserves special mention as forecasting again Webster's attitude on slavery in 1850. It is unnecessary to list here the speeches and writings supporting or attacking Webster's executive work, but there are a number of separately printed editions of these, particularly in the year 1841. No special search has yet been made for this material; besides the libraries of the United States, those of Canada and Great Britain should be consulted.

In 1843 a meeting was held at the New York Historical Society, the report of which is usually found catalogued under Gallatin. Webster delivered a speech at this meeting, which is found on pages 57-68 of the pamphlet report entitled *A memoir on the north-eastern boundary, in connexion with Mr. Jay's map, by the Hon. Albert Gallatin, LL.D., . . . together with a speech on the same subject, by the Hon. Daniel Webster, LL.D., Secretary of State, &c. &c.; delivered at a special meeting of the New-York Historical Society, April 15th, 1843. Illustrated by a copy of the "Jay map."* New-York: printed for the Society, 1843. ([2]+74 pp. Folded map.)

Curtis, reviewing Webster's *Diplomatic and Official Papers* in the *North American Review*, LXVIII, 1 (1849), considered the negotiation of the Ashburton Treaty the most important of Webster's acts, "conducted with great skill, tact, and discretion, with the vast resources of a



profound knowledge of an entangled controversy of fifty years' standing," an example "of great and permanent importance to the world," and involving principles "that will have an influence in the world as long as civilization exists on the face of the globe." Although Webster had gained one of the most signal victories ever achieved over the political forces of unreason, nevertheless, when he was again in the Senate and because he was using his influence for a peaceful settlement of the Oregon question, he was attacked, especially by Mr. C. J. Ingersoll and Mr. Dickinson, in a manner that resulted in a defense that was called by Senator Lodge "one of the strongest and most virile speeches he ever delivered." The four known editions or issues of this are as follows:

*Mr. Webster's vindication of the treaty of Washington of 1842; in a speech delivered in the Senate of the United States, on the 6th and 7th of April, 1846.* Washington: J. & G. S. Gideon, 1846. (71 pp. Without map or appendices.)

——[SAME TITLE] [same imprint]. (88 pp. With map and appendices.)

——[SAME TITLE] [same imprint]. (85 pp. With map and appendices.)

——[SAME TITLE] n.p., n.d. (64 pp. With map and appendices.)

In the three Gideon issues, having 71, 88, and 85 pages respectively, pages 1-71 are the same and comprise the main text of the work. In the issues with 88 and 85 pages, the pages [73]-88 and [73]-85 respectively consist of nine appendices, containing correspondence between



Webster, as Secretary of State, and others, and extracts from the treaty, and a convention between England and France for suppressing the slave traffic. Since there is allusion in the main text to these appendixes, they are referred to as well in the 71-page issue with which they do not appear. In the issues with 88 and 85 pages, there is inserted a map, which occurs in some copies of the issue of 88 pages in its first state and in some in its second, while in the issue of 85 pages it occurs in its second. In the 64-page issue the nine appendixes occur on pages [54]–64, and the map occurs in its second state. It must be said, however, that there is need of collation of more copies to ascertain with certainty the distinction between issues and the relation of the maps thereto.

The map is entitled, in its first state: "Map of the various lines between the United States and the British provinces reduced from the official map of Major J. D. Graham, U.S. Commissioner." The additions in the second state include: (1) the words, "Published by order of the Senate of the U.S. March 3d 1843"; (2) the inset map with title: "Rouse's Point and its vicinity on Lake Champlain shewing the positions selected for the fortifications"; (3) the explanation regarding the altitudes; (4) the figures denoting the altitudes on the highlands boundary claimed by the United States. There are also additions to the coloring on the Chaudière and Dead Rivers, and changes in the coloring of the line of the parallel of 45° N. lat. and the upper Connecticut waters. It should be mentioned here that in the *Diplomatic and*

*Official Papers* . . . . (1848) the map appears in its second state and without boundary colors.

Webster opposed the Mexican War, made efforts to bring it to a speedy close, and opposed the annexation of Mexican territory. "With great force and in a tone of solemn warning," as Mr. Lodge says, he denounced the annexation of territory from which new slave states might be constructed, and declared that we were "rushing upon perils headlong, and with our eyes wide open"; this in *Remarks of the Hon. Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts, on the three million bill. In Senate of the United States, March 1, 1847.* [Washington]: J. & G. S. Gideon, n.d. (8 pp.) No title-page; title from caption, p. [1]; printer from footnote, p. [1]. In this issue the speech takes pages [1]-8. Another issue of 8 pages differs in having the type set forward, beginning on page [1], enough to save half a page, resulting in the speech taking pages [1]-7; and on page 8 is a "Transcript from the Journal of the Senate, showing the votes of members. 'In the Senate of the United States, March 1, 1847.'" Resisting the provision of means for continuing the war after the treaty of peace was ratified, another speech was delivered: *Mr. Webster's speech, in the Senate of the United States, March 23, 1848, on the Mexican war.* [Washington]: J. & G. S. Gideon, n.d. (16 pp.) No title-page; title from caption, p. [1]; printer from footnote, p. [1]. Reprinted as: *Mr. Webster's speech, in the U.S. Senate, March 23, 1848, upon the war with Mexico.* Boston: Eastburn's Press, 1848. (24 pp.).

Other items of this decade occur as follows:

*Speech at the convention at Richmond, Va., on Oct. 5th, 1840.* New York, 1840. (24 pp.).†

*Mr. Webster's remarks to the Ladies of Richmond, Va., October 5th, 1840.* Boston: Perkins & Marvin, 1841. (8 pp.).

*Address, delivered at Bunker Hill, June 17, 1843, on the completion of the monument.* By Daniel Webster. Boston: T. R. Marvin, 1843. (39 pp.). This seems to be the official edition.

*Webster's address delivered at the completion of the Bunker Hill monument, June 17, 1843.* [Boston: Redding & Co., 1843.] (8 pp.) No title-page; title from caption; imprint at end, p. 8.

*An address delivered at the completion of the Bunker Hill monument, June 17, 1843.* By Daniel Webster. Boston: Tappan and Dennet, 1843. (20 pp.).

*Mr. Webster's address at Andover, November 9, 1843.* Boston, T. R. Marvin, 1843. (44 pp.). This was reviewed by Professor Moses Stuart of Andover, in *Mr. Webster's Andover address.* Essex County, 1844. (20 pp.); and *Conscience and the constitution.* Boston, 1850. (119 pp.).

*Mr. Webster's speech in defence of the Christian ministry, February 10, 1844, in the case of Stephen Girard's will.* Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1844. (60 pp.).

*Defence of the Christian religion.* N.Y., 1844. (76 pp.).†

*Webster's speech. A defence of the Christian religion. Second edition.* New York: Mark H. Newman, 1844. (72 pp.).

*Speech of Daniel Webster of Massachusetts, delivered at the great Whig mass convention, held at Philadelphia, on the 1st day of October, 1844.* Philadelphia, 1844. (22 pp.).

*Argument of Hon. Daniel Webster, on behalf of the Boston & Lowell R. R. company.* Boston, January XX, MDCCCXLV. Reported by Nathan Hale, jr. Boston: Dutton and Wentworth, 1845. (31 pp.).



*Mr. Webster's remarks at the meeting of the Suffolk bar, occasioned by the death of the Hon. Mr. Justice Story.* Boston: James Munroe and Co., 1845. (14 pp.).

*Argument of the Hon. Daniel Webster, and the Hon. J. MacPherson Berrien, in the case of Charles F. Sibbald against the United States.* Philadelphia, 1845. (45 pp. Cover title-page.)†

*The true Whig sentiment of Massachusetts.* n.p., n.d. (24 pp.). The heading on p. [17] is "Speech of Hon. Daniel Webster."

*Mr. Webster's speech on the new tariff bill. July 25, 1846.* Washington: J. & G. S. Gideon, 1846. (48 pp.). Also another ed. (32 pp.) without t.-p.

*Proceedings of the Harbor and River Convention held at Chicago, July fifth, 1847. Letters read . . .* Chicago: R. L. Wilson, Daily Journal office, 1847. (79 pp.). Contains letters of Webster of June 26, 1847, on pp. 45-46 and 51-64.

*The Rhode Island question. Mr. Webster's argument in the case of Martin Luther vs. Luther M. Borden and others, January 27th, 1848.* Washington: J. and G. S. Gideon, 1848. (26 pp.). 33 lines of text on p. 3.

—[SAME TITLE] [same imprint] (20 pp.). 47 lines of text on p. 3.

*Speech of Hon. Daniel Webster, on the presidential question; delivered at Marshfield, Mass., September 1, 1848.* (14 pp.).†

*Speech by the Hon. Daniel Webster, delivered at Marshfield, Sept. 1, 1848.* n.p., n.d. (16 pp.) without t.-p.†

*Mr. Webster's speech at Marshfield, Mass. delivered September 1, 1848, and his speech on the Oregon bill, delivered in the United States Senate, August 12, 1848.* Boston: T. R. Marvin, 1848. (24 pp.). Senator Lodge says that the Marshfield speech was a crisis in Webster's life, and a lost opportunity, in that he did not put himself at the head of the "constitutional anti-slavery party."

*Speech of Hon. Daniel Webster, at Abington, October 9, 1848.* n.p., n.d. (8 pp.). No title-page; title from caption, p. [1].



*Proceedings in Massachusetts and New Hampshire on the death of the Hon. Jeremiah Mason.* Boston: John Wilson, 1849. (41 pp.). Webster's address, in presenting Rufus Choate's Suffolk Bar resolutions on Mason to the Massachusetts Supreme Court on November 14th, 1848, is on pages 7-29.

*Speeches of the Hon. Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts, delivered at the festival of the Sons of New Hampshire, in Boston, Nov. 7th, 1849.* Boston: James French, 1849. ([2]+23 pp.).

The papers and speeches near the end of the great statesman's life are the following:

The "Seventh of March" speech, discussed later.

*Speech of the Honorable Daniel Webster, on the compromise bill, on the 17th day of July, 1850.* [Washington]: Gideon & Co., n.d. (15 pp.). No title-page; title from caption, p. [1]; printer from footnote, p. [1].

—[SAME TITLE, varying] Washington: Gideon & Co., 1850. (28 pp.).†

*Remarks of Hon. Daniel Webster in the Senate of the United States, June 17, 1850. Together with Mr. Webster's letter to Robert H. Gardiner, Esq.; and other citizens of Maine.* [Washington: Gideon & Co.], n.d. (8 pp.). No title-page; title from caption.†

*Letter from citizens of Newburyport, Mass., and Mr. Webster's reply.* Washington: Gideon and Co., 1850. (16 pp.). Also (20 pp.).†

*Correspondence between Mr. Webster and his New Hampshire neighbors.* Washington: Gideon and Co., 1850. (10 pp.).

*The Austro-Hungarian question. Correspondence between Mr. Hülsemann and Mr. Webster.* Washington: Gideon and Co., 1851. (23 pp.).

*Sketch of the life of Louis Kossuth, and the letter of Daniel Webster to Chevalier Hülsemann.* New York: Stringer & Townsend, 1851. (96 pp.). The Hülsemann letter, Dr. Fisher says, "is a most impressive paper which delighted the whole country by its Americanism, inspired respect in Europe, and has become a landmark in

the history of diplomacy. It was a letter in which the substance was old-fashioned spread-eagleism expressed in classic urbanity, and no one but Webster could have done it."

*Speech of Mr. Webster, at the celebration of the New York New England Society, December 23, 1850.* Washington: Gideon and Co., 1851. (13 pp.).

*Speech of Hon. Daniel Webster, to the young men of Albany. Wednesday, May 28, 1851.* [Washington]: Gideon & Co., n.d. (29 pp.). Some copies have only 21 pages; was it so published?

*Mr. Webster's speeches at Buffalo, Syracuse, and Albany, May, 1851.* New-York: Mirror office, [cop. 1851.] (56 pp.). Also . . . [2d ed.] N.Y. Mirror office (56 pp.). Another ed.: Boston, 1851, (48 pp.).

*Speeches of Mr. Webster at Capon Springs, Virginia; June 28, 1851.* [Washington]: Gideon & Co., n.d. (18 pp.).

*Mr. Webster's address at the laying of the corner stone of the addition to the capitol; July 4th, 1851.* Washington: Gideon and Co., 1851. (29 pp.).

—[SAME TITLE] Washington: Gideon and Co., 1851. (30 pp.). Page 30 has a letter to Webster from Henry Lunt.

*An address delivered before the New York Historical Society, February 23, 1852, by Daniel Webster. . . .* New York: The Historical Society, 1852. (57 pp.).

*Speech of the Hon. Daniel Webster in the great india rubber suit, in March, 1852.* New-York: Arthur & Burnet, 1852. (14+54 pp. With facsim.)

*Address delivered by the Hon. Daniel Webster in Faneuil Hall, May 22, 1852, at the request of the City Council of Boston.* Boston: J. H. Eastburn, 1852. (25 pp.).

The bibliographer, while studiously dispassionate, must end his account at the most dazzling point, in which the great statesman hazarded for the sake of national unity and peace all he had of bright fame. "In a literary

and rhetorical point of view the speech of the 7th of March was a fine one," says Senator Lodge. And Dr. Fisher says, "It is probable that no speech Webster ever made in the Senate, perhaps not even the reply to Calhoun, was thought out so thoroughly, and with such complete preparation. Seventeen pages of notes were found among his papers. But the notes he used in speaking were all on two small scraps of paper. . . . General Lyman, who was present, says that though Webster spoke for three hours, he never looked at his notes except to take from them copies of resolutions or quotations, never hesitated for a word or a phrase, or changed the form of a sentence, the speech rolled out like a mighty river. . . . This speech is the most classic one Webster ever delivered, the most perfect in taste."

The chief contemporary editions are the following:

*The compromise resolutions. Speech of Hon. Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts, March 7, 1850.* [Washington]: Congressional Globe office, n.d. (15 pp.). No title-page; title from caption, p. [1]; printer from p. 15. Printed in double columns.

*Speech of Mr. Webster on Mr. Clay's resolutions. Delivered March 7, 1850.* [Washington]: Gideon & Co., n.d. (15 pp.). No title-page; title from caption, p. [1]; printer from footnote, p. [1]. Printed in single columns.

—[SAME TITLE] *Second edition.* [Washington]: Gideon & Co., n.d. (15 pp.). No title-page; title from caption, p. [1]; printer from footnote, p. [1]. Printed in single columns.

*Speech of Hon. Daniel Webster, on Mr. Clay's resolutions, March 7, 1850.* Washington: Gideon and Co., 1850. (64 pp.). Typographical variations occur in copies of this edition on pages 22-28.



—[SAME TITLE AS LAST] Boston: Redding and Company, 1850. (39 pp.).

*Speech of the Hon. Daniel Webster, on the subject of slavery; on Thursday, March 7, 1850.* Boston: Redding and Co., 1850. (39 pp.).

*Speeches of Hon. John C. Calhoun, and Hon. Daniel Webster, on the subject of slavery. Delivered March, 1850.* New York: Stringer & Townsend, 1850. (Cover-title & 32 pp.).

*Speeches of Hayne and Webster. January, 1830. Also, Mr. Webster's celebrated speech on the slavery compromise bill, March 7, 1850.* Boston: A. T. Hotchkiss & W. P. Pettridge, 1853. (115 pp.).

*Webster and Hayne's celebrated speeches. January, 1830. Also, Daniel Webster's speech, May 7, 1850, on the slavery compromise.* Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson and Brothers, n.d. (115 pp.). The date is wrongly given "May 7."

*Daniel Webster on slavery. Extracts from some of the speeches of Mr. Webster, on the subject of slavery; together with his great compromise speech, of March 7, 1850, entire, and the Boston Memorial, on the subject of slavery, drawn up by Mr. Webster, to which is added the Constitution of the United States.* Boston: William Carter & Brother, 1861. (60 pp.).†

Most of the stormy controversy that has raged about the head of Daniel Webster has arisen from this Seventh of March speech. Lamentation and laudation were pronounced in terms of perhaps equal extravagance. Lowell, Longfellow, Emerson, denounced him. Whittier wrote his *Ichabod*. At the time of Webster's decease about two years later, out from among the voices of real sorrow came Theodore Parker's vitriolic attack, in the guise of a eulogy or of a life. Junius Americanus (who is said to have been George O. Stearns) answered Parker;



and during a period of forty years William Cleaver Wilkin-son in turn answered him. On the centennial of Webster's birth, when the dispute was renewed, Hudson championed the statesman. Mr. Hapgood, in 1899, wrote that this speech was the one thing that prevented Webster from being the grandest figure on the continent of North America. The favorable verdict latterly rendered by Mr. Bergen, Dr. Fisher, and Professor Ogg must mellow the judgments of colder critics.

In explanation of the speech, Senator Lodge says that Webster "thought war and secession might come and it was against this possibility and probability that he sought to provide. He wished to solve the great problem, to remove the source of danger, to set the menacing agitation at rest. He aimed at an enduring and definite settlement, and that was the purpose of the 7th of March speech. . . . It was a mad project. . . . The blow fell with terrible force. . . . The conservative reaction which Mr. Webster endeavored to produce came and triumphed. . . . It was a wonderful tribute to his power and influence, but the triumph was hollow and short-lived. He had attempted to compass an impossibility."

Opinions and feelings differ regarding motive and effect. But the seventh of March became a famous day, and on it hangs in peculiar measure the quality of a great man's fate.

## ALDUS AND THE FIRST USE OF HEBREW TYPE IN VENICE

BY ALEXANDER MARX

Librarian of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York

WHILE the large majority of Hebrew incunabula appeared in Italy, it is remarkable that none was published in Venice, although 40 per cent of the entire book production of Italy came from the presses of that city.<sup>1</sup> Hebrew letters were employed in Venice for the first time by Aldus Manucius in his *Introductio utilissima hebraice discere cupientibus*, which formed an appendix to Aldus' Latin Grammar of 1501. Professor Gustav Bauch of Breslau in his paper on the introduction of Greek into Northern Germany<sup>2</sup> tried to prove that this was preceded by an earlier edition of 1497, to which year he ascribes the undated Aldine Lascaris. But Professor Bauch's argument is based on the assumption that the Latin grammar which bears the date of February, 1501, is dated according to the Venetian style and actually appeared in 1502. He showed that Johannes Rhagius Aesticampianus used the table of Cebes which appeared, together with Lascaris, in Basle in 1501, as well as in Aldus' Latin grammar. He maintains that since the Latin grammar was not printed at the time, he must have used the Cebes in the undated Lascaris, which accordingly must have appeared earlier, viz., in 1497.

As against this argument, Christie<sup>3</sup> has shown that Aldus did not employ the Venetian year at that time, and that his Latin grammar actually did appear in February, 1501. There is thus no difficulty in Rhagius making use of the 1501 edition of Aldus, and we do not need to claim an earlier date for Lascaris than 1501-3. In opposition to Bauch's claims Lascaris is not mentioned in Aldus' first catalogue, but it does appear in his second catalogue of 1503.<sup>4</sup>

Aldus not only printed his introduction as an appendix to the quarto grammar in 1501, but he also published a separate edition of it in duodecimo, of which some pages were reproduced in facsimile by Panizzi in his *Chi era Francesco da Bologna?* (London, 1858), from the copy in the Spencer Library. Panizzi does not express himself on the priority of the two forms of the little primer, of which the separate edition is printed in Oriental form from right to left on 15 leaves and the appendix in quarto running from left to right conforming with the volumes to which it is appended. In the Catalogue of the John Rylands Library, 1899, page 921, the Spencer copy of the separate edition is dated [1500], while another copy in the Catalogue G. Manzoni<sup>5</sup> is ascribed to the year 1501.

It is very curious, though generally overlooked, that the authorship of Aldus has been contested. Gerson Soncino, the famous Jewish printer, published the same *Introductio ad literas hebraicas* at Pesaro in 1510,<sup>6</sup> under his own name, claiming that he had been the author of this primer in his early youth, "jam pene puer" and had



given it to somebody (i.e. Aldus) who was ignorant of the Hebrew language and who produced it incorrectly. Soncino therefore reprinted the booklet, which includes a Hebrew translation of the Lord's Prayer! Aldus evidently paid no attention to the claims of his rival, for in 1514 he again issued it as an appendix to his *Institutionum grammaticarum libri quatuor*, without any change in the preface. There is a copy of this edition in the Sulzberger collection in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York.

Besides the primer, we have one page of Hebrew text printed by Aldus. This is a specimen of a proposed polyglot Bible in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, which was reproduced in facsimile from the unique copy of the Bibliothèque Nationale by Renouard.<sup>7</sup> Although this edition was announced in the preface of Dekaduos to Aldus' Greek Psalter, which appeared before October, 1498—when it was advertised in the first catalogue of Aldus—the specimen was hardly printed before 1501. In September of that year Aldus sent a copy of the leaf to Conrad Celtes, while in the preceding July he had written him that “Vetus et novum instrumentum graece, latine & hebraice nondum impressi, sed parturio.”<sup>8</sup> It seems that the plan was not carried any further, just as the announcement of Soncino in the preface of his *Introductio* that it would be followed by a trilingual Psalter with his own glosses remained unfulfilled.

Outside of a few reprints of The Aldus *Primer*,<sup>9</sup> no Hebrew type was used in Venice until 1516. In that



year the first work from the press of Daniel Bomberg appeared. His activity down to 1548 made Venice the center of Hebrew publishing. We owe him a large number of the best printed Hebrew books, including the most important and most voluminous works of Rabbinic literature, such as the Bible with Rabbinical commentaries (in Buxtorf's reprint called *Biblia Rabbinica*) and the Talmud in several editions.<sup>10</sup>

## NOTES

1. See A. W. Pollard, *An Essay on Colophons*, Chicago: Caxton Club, 1905, p. 30.

2. Kehrbach's *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für deutsche Erziehungs- und Schulgeschichte*, VI (Berlin, 1896), 72; cf. *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, XLVIII (1904), 332.

3. *Bibliographica*, I, 214.

4. Renouard, *Annales de l'imprimerie des Alde* (Paris: 3d ed., 1834), pp. 332 and 262.

5. *Citta di Castello*, 1893, p. 242, No. 4186 bis.

6. It is unknown where the unique copy of Soncino's edition is found at present. It belonged to Manzoni, who fully described it in his *Annali tipografici dei Soncino*, parte seconda, I (Bologna, 1883), 256-65; see also the catalogue of his library, *loc. cit.*

7. *Op. cit.*, p. 389.

8. Renouard, pp. 516-17; cf. p. 388-89.

9. In the Erfurt (1501-2) and Florence (1515) reprints of Aldus' *Introductio*, which represent the first appearance of Hebrew characters in these cities.

10. See Freimann's paper in *Zeitschrift für hebräische Bibliographie*, X, 32-36 and 79-88 (cf. pp. 188-89), where a chronological list of nearly 200 publications from Bomberg's press can be found.

## NOTES OF BOOKS AND WORKERS

SOUND DOCTRINE.—The first of a series of articles on "The Copy [in the technical, printer's sense] for 'Hamlet,' 1603," by J. Dover Wilson in "The Library" for July last, is postulated on certain assumptions that should be self-evident, but cannot be repeated too often in the existing status of bibliographical studies:

"The origin and condition of this copy (is) a problem not literary at all, but bibliographical. The First (and every) Quarto, in short, is a bibliographical fact."

"The bibliographical evidence, once established, will suggest new literary and dramatic clues. But here, as elsewhere in Shakespearian textual matters, bibliography is the first consideration. It is only when the bibliographer has done his work that the literary critic can hope to build with any permanence. For while literary judgments are notoriously as shifting as the sand, bibliography provides a foundation of rock—the rock of fact."

MR. STOKES'S ICONOGRAPHY.—It is doubtful whether anyone, within the limits of reasonable comparison, ever had more to show for ten years' devotion to a hobby than Mr. I. N. Phelps Stokes. The third volume of his "Iconography of Manhattan Island," issued in April, 1919, completes his survey of the history and development of New York City. Another volume of extracts,

chronology, bibliography, and index is to follow. The modest compilation which he proposed to prepare in May, 1909, because he had found it difficult to secure desired information about a map bought during the preceding summer, would have been a very useful work. The project grew in the handling into these volumes which are, by whatever test one chooses to apply, a master-work of scholarship. This list of views of New York is in reality the most readable, trustworthy narrative of the history of the American metropolis, and the most comprehensive compendium of details regarding its growth.

The specifically bibliographical section of this portion is the Check List of Early New York Newspapers, to 1812. Further notice of this can be made more satisfactorily when it can be compared with the corresponding portion of Mr. Brigham's "Bibliography of American Newspapers" which should appear in the "Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society" for next autumn. Aside from this, Mr. Stokes's pages are packed with bibliographical data concerning publications which in any respect impinge upon his topic. It was his very particular good fortune to enlist the enthusiastic co-operation of everyone with a single exception who possessed out-of-the-ordinary information which could be of use to him. The reason for this was unquestionably the enthusiasm and unsparing labor which Mr. Stokes put into his undertaking. The spirit with which he went about it is shown most clearly in his generous dedication



of the second volume to the only person who had rebuffed him. That volume, on the cartography of the northeast coast of America, supplements and completes Henry Harrisse's "Discovery" and "Terre Neuve," and to no one else could it so properly be dedicated. No personal reasons or considerations were allowed to interfere here or anywhere else in the work, with the doing of every bit of it as it should be done.

Another part of these volumes that should have an especial notice in this place is the Prefaces. In these Mr. Stokes tells, much too briefly and omitting most of the anecdotal details which ought to be put on record somewhere, of his interest in the subject, the inception of the undertaking, the growth of the compilation into a monumental digest of original research, the difficulties—lightly touched upon—overcome, and nothing of the great satisfaction and pride with which he and all who care for him must handle each volume as it appears. Mr. Stokes pays high tribute to his collaborators, especially to Dr. F. C. Wieder of Amsterdam, whose researches made the second volume possible, and Mr. V. H. Paltsits of New York, without whose help its comprehensive, detailed accuracy could hardly have been achieved within reasonable limits of time, to Mr. H. N. Stevens of London, M. Henri Tropé in Paris, and a score of others. But the gratitude for their assistance leaves the reader no room for doubt that his was the guiding spirit and the controlling intelligence that mastered the subject and forced the conception to become a remarkable achievement. These



Prefaces tell of what is one of the most creditable, and most entertaining, episodes in the history of book collecting.

G. P. W.

MRS. BROWNING.—Mr. Thomas J. Wise's latest Bibliography, that of "The Works of Elizabeth Barrett Browning," was published about the first of the New Year. It has the same format as the others of the series; is issued in paper boards as the Borrow's, Brontë, and Wordsworth Bibliographies, and one hundred copies only were printed. The volume is exceedingly interesting because of the many facsimiles of title-pages, manuscripts, and particularly of letters of both Mrs. and Mr. Browning, their friends and their publishers, concerning her work. He also reproduces a number of the inscriptions in presentation copies of the various volumes.

Mrs. Browning's first book, "The Battle of Marathon," was published when she was about twelve years old. It is so rare that even in 1888, Mr. Browning doubted its existence. Her second book, "An Essay on Mind," was published when she was in her twentieth year.

Many of Mrs. Browning's poems appeared first in American newspapers and magazines. During her lifetime she revised and altered her verses with every edition, American as well as English. Mr. Wise is rather inclined to neglect these American editions in his Bibliographies. He does mention Mrs. Browning's "Poems, 1844," published in New York with the title, "A Drama

of Exile and Other Poems," which has not only a "Preface" written especially for it, but also many changes in the text. "Poems before Congress," 1860, was published in New York with the title "Napoleon III in Italy and Other Poems," with changes in the text. The copy in the Harvard Library has the inscription "June 15, 1860, The Gift of James Russell Lowell." "Aurora Leigh" has a note in the New York edition, signed by Mrs. Browning, and dated "Oct. 21, 1856." "The Last Poems," 1862, has a note for the edition printed in New York, signed by Robert Browning, dated February 20, 1862, as well as a "Publisher's Note," and "Memorial" to Elizabeth Barrett Browning by Theodore Tilton.

The question has been raised concerning the rank as a Browning *princeps* of the leaflet or little broadside "Only a Curl." The poem was originally printed in a newspaper, the "New York Independent," on May 16, 1861; the leaflet was printed the following June, 1861; and the poem was collected in the volume "Last Poems," 1862. If by *princeps* Mr. Wise means the absolutely first printing, then "The Independent" would be the *princeps*, and the leaflet, the second printing, is merely the first separately printed edition. Because it was unauthorized, would not alter its rank.

F. V. L.

A "Check List of Maps of Rhode Island" is No. V of Howard M. Chapin's "Contributions to Rhode Island Bibliography." It lists 185 maps, giving title, size, location of a copy, and occasionally notes.

"A COLLECTION OF BOOKS ABOUT CATS."—This little book, as Mr. Percy L. Babington states in his prefatory note, is not a bibliography, but the account of a private collection and "therefore, reflects the taste of its compiler." It is clearly a task both difficult and delicate, to criticise a work of this character. The book is divided into two parts, the first dealing with books on domestic cats, in which thirty-seven titles are listed, and the second with books on the Felidae. The small number of books on domestic cats in the collection somewhat surprised me, when I compared it with my own library, which contains over two hundred titles on this subject. It is doubtless owing to the taste of the collector that all books in regard to the breeding, management, showing, medical care, and anatomy of cats, are omitted from the collection. But if the collection is rather of books which treat of cats for cats' sake, surprise may be pardoned at the discovery of the absence of any copy of the most popular, most widely read, and most reprinted cat story, Charles Perrault's "*Le Chat botté*," which is better known to most of us under its English title of "*Puss in Boots*." I have translations of this in Spanish, Russian, and Dutch, as well as in English.

The earliest cat book listed is Moncrif's "*Les Chats*," of 1727. Of course Straparola's "*Soriana*," of 1553, the literary ancestor of "*Le Chat botté*," might be excluded on account of its not having been issued as a separate publication. This objection could not apply to Vincioli's "*Lezione di Cintio di Nico Gattafilota*," of



1709, which certainly deserves a place in such a collection, as well as "La Miceide," of 1781. We look in vain for such French contributions as Mégnin's "Notre Ami le Chat," Ruffin's "Le Livre des Chats," and Percheron's "Le Chat;" for such important English works as Anne Marks' "The Cat in History, Legend, and Art," Mrs. Miller's "Cats and Dogs," and Strachey's "Cat and Bird Stories Retold from the Spectator."

The annotations are interesting to any collector of cat literature, but the book, as the "note" suggests, is an example rather of fine typography (it bears on its title page the device of Bruce Rogers and its colophon reads "printed by J. B. Peace") and of bookmaking, than a contribution to bibliography, or literature. As such, as well as a new, although too brief, cat book, it is very welcome on my shelves.

HOWARD M. CHAPIN

LISTS OF INCUNABULA.—One unexpected bit of information that has come from the work of compiling the "Census of Fifteenth Century Books Owned in America" is that the keenest and most intelligent collectors of these books in this country are physicians. Not only is the proportion of medical books listed in the "Census" high, but the owners of them have been, as a group, by far the best informed regarding their possessions and the most eager to render assistance.

This is quite true, despite the evidence afforded by two recent lists of the titles in a single collection, one



public and the other private. The Librarian of the Surgeon General's Library at Washington contributed to the first volume of the recently inaugurated, ably edited, and well printed "Annals of Medical History" a "Check List of 232 Incunabula" in that collection. This has been reprinted as a very attractive separate. It contains, not always in readily recognizable form, several important bits of new information due to the researches of Dr. Arnold C. Klebs who, as the preliminary note states, "has in preparation a bibliography of all medical incunabula."

In a collection of the great size of that which the late Dr. Billings made famous, it is not surprising to find that those directly responsible for its administration are unacquainted with all its resources. This is of course inevitable when the effort is made to find books which have come to be grouped under headings with which former custodians were unfamiliar. The idea of indexing the imprint of a book is still a novel one to most librarians, so that it can hardly be considered surprising that the Surgeon General's Check List does not include several titles which are to be found in the printed "Index Catalogue" of that collection. Luckily these had been reported to the "Census" a number of years ago, and are properly credited in its columns.

The eight incunabula belonging to Dr. Lewis Stephen Pilcher, of Brooklyn, constitute a section of minor importance in his library, of which he has printed "A List of Books by some of the Old Masters of Medicine

and Surgery together with Books on the History of Medicine and on Medical Biography, with Biographical and Bibliographical Notes and Reproductions of Some Title Pages and Captions." The books, and apparently also the notes, are the gradual accumulation of forty years. There is a consistent uncertainty about the spelling of proper names and the significance of technical terms which would be annoying in a work that pretended to be more than the memoranda of one who has risen to acknowledged rank in his profession, concerning the favorites of his hours of relaxation. The important sections of Dr. Pilcher's library contain the successive editions of the writings of Vesalius, of Ambrose Paré, and of Harvey.

The library of St. Bonaventure's Seminary at Albany, N.Y., contains just under fifty fifteenth-century books. A list of these compiled by a graduate of 1917, M. F. Biniszkiewicz, without the help of bibliographical reference books, is printed in the Seminary's Year Book for 1918.

G. P. W.

Professor Chester N. Greenough's discussion of "Algernon Sidney and the Motto of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts," in the "Proceedings" of the Massachusetts Historical Society for February, 1918, embodies as an essential part of his argument, a description of the editions of Sidney's "Discourses concerning Government," 1698-1772. He also proves that copies of these editions, as well as many other similar works, were in Massachusetts libraries before the Revolution.

AN OPPORTUNITY FOR COMPARISONS.—Bibliography is made responsible, by the editors of "The Cambridge History of American Literature," for the decision of the publishers to issue the proposed two-volume work in three volumes. In the second of these volumes there are 228 pages of "Bibliographies," used for the most part in the sense of lists of titles of books. These pages are set in small type crowded, in one case, into a single paragraph occupying four pages and made up largely of initial letters and figures. The actual amount of material in this portion of the volume must be quite as large as that in the preceding 409 pages of text intended to be read.

The very discouraging monotony of these pages of bibliographies conceals a wide variety of purpose, method and form in their preparation. Most of them are "frankly selective," mere lists, usually giving the date of the first, of the standard, and frequently of the cheapest or most easily procurable edition. Considerable notice has been taken of translations into European languages of things written in the United States. Rarely is there any attempt to appraise the value, as literature or as criticism, of the works cited, except as they may have been selected for discussion in the narrative chapters. As a whole, this part of the American work compares unfavorably with the corresponding sections of the "Cambridge English Literature." The obvious striving to attain to the English standard emphasizes the extent to which the American academic person is unaccustomed to appraise the books he handles intelligently, with any



appreciation of general standards, or with knowledge of the intellectual or the mechanical technique of making a good book.

There is a noticeable tendency to disregard things rare or inaccessible, except where these have been described in such a work as Miss Browne's "Hawthorne," "much used in the present compilation." This is not always true, for the last page records:

"Mother Goose. Worcester, 1785. Boston 1833. (Perhaps published as Songs for the Nursery. Boston, 1719.)"

"The New England Primer. ca. 1687-1690. (See the valuable ed. by Ford, P. L., 1897.)"

It is a matter of opinion whether such entries as these, or lists of "more important authors and their more important works," are necessary to balance the very useful lists of the publications by authors whose writings have not yet been investigated bibliographically. There are many such in the sections headed "Publicists and Orators," "Early Humorists," "Divines and Moralists," "The New South," "Dialect Writers," and "The Short Story." These lists ought to serve as a convenient basis upon which to construct something that should add materially to an understanding of the careers of these less generally known writers. Mr. Clapp's study of Webster, compared with the list prepared by Mr. Van Doren to which he pays well deserved tribute, reveals effectively the contribution which intelligent bibliographical investigation makes to purely literary knowledge.



The section on "Magazines and Annuals" is thoroughly workmanlike and informing, and gives evidence that the compiler did much with his material after gathering it. Asterisks guide the user to the more valuable articles, there are a few informing notes, and the list supplements instead of reprinting Mr. Faxon's "Literary Annuals and Gift Books."

G. P. W.

B. FRANKLIN, PRINTER.—The Curtis Publishing Company reinforced their claim to descent from Benjamin Franklin by acquiring in 1915 the best collection of the publications bearing his imprint. A Catalogue has been prepared by Dr. William J. Campbell, of Philadelphia, the entries following closely the model of Hildeburn's "Issues of the Press of Pennsylvania," with the addition of a number of pertinent notes. Of much greater value than the Catalogue which occupies the larger part of the volume, is the appended "Short-Title Check List of all the Books, Pamphlets, Broad-sides, &c., known to have been printed by Benjamin Franklin." The brief title is supplemented by a succinct collation and reference to Hildeburn, Tower, or Evans, and by notes when necessary to assist in identifying the title. There are 81 entries of works with which Franklin is supposed to have had some connection before he set up his own establishment, and 791 which bear, or might have had, his imprint. A few titles erroneously ascribed to him are given in footnotes. Besides the ordinary publications,

issues of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware currency printed by Franklin, and the issues of his Gazette, are listed in convenient form each by itself. An account of Franklin as a printer, both readable and biographically accurate, is the introduction to the volume.

A POLYGLOT VOLUME.—The principal contents of the "Papers and Proceedings" of the American Library Institute for 1917 are, in order of length, a study of "The Greek Evangelistary" as illustrated by a manuscript belonging to the Garrett Collection in the Princeton Library, a reprint of the German text of an account of excavations of the Hittite archives dated about 1400 B.C., supplementing Dr. Richardson's very illuminating essays in the field of the earliest annals of book collecting and book preserving, and a collation of the copy of "De arca Noe," written by Hugo de Sancto Victore, found in one of the Garrett manuscripts. Of the other papers, those of particular value are Mr. Shearer's "Notes on the Issues of the Journal of the Pennsylvania Assembly, 1776-1790," and Mr. Gerould's finding list of the Roxburghe Club publications in American libraries. It is much to be wished that Mr. Gerould's list may be the beginning of a series of similar reports on the whereabouts of the various volumes of the more confusing serials listed by Dr. Richardson in his "Check List of Collections Relating to European History," which that invaluable work has brought within the reach of students in this country. There is also a suggestive

paper based on experiments conducted at the Princeton Psychological Laboratory "in order to ascertain what arrangement of figures, or letters, or figures and letters, or figures and decimal points, etc., may be read the more easily." The examination of this volume tempts a critical reader to wonder whether the psychologists have also tried to analyze the effect, upon all concerned, of attempting to peruse a learned publication in which there are a great many misprints.

G. P. W.

AN EARLY "BEST-SELLER."—M. Foulché Delbosc prints in his "*Revue Hispanique*," vol. xlii, a bibliography of Mateo Aleman, whose residence in Mexico from 1609 to 1613, and the important editions of his books printed there, give him an American interest. Aleman's "*Guzman de Alfarache*" was the great success of the years 1599-1604, going through 26 editions and reaching, according to report, 50,000 copies. It was ten years before it was printed again; *Don Quixote* came out in 1605!

The preceding issue of the same *Revue*, for April, 1918, is occupied by a bibliography of a type in which the Spanish excel; a chronological list, about 5 titles to the page, of books or editions printed outside the Spanish dominions, of works written by authors native to the Peninsula. A detailed analysis of these considerably over 1200 titles ought to yield thoroughly profitable results, but the attempt to glean anything significant by a cursory examination of the pages as they come, is tantalizingly unprofitable.

G. P. W.



MRS. LIVINGSTON'S STEVENSON.—The late Luther S. Livingston was a striking instance of the close relationship of hard work to genius. Those who knew him intimately knew also that the vast amount of very hard work which he put to his credit was in no small measure made possible by the collaboration of Mrs. Livingston, who was in the truest sense his helpmate. She has continued to devote herself to their mutual interests, among which Stevenson had a place near the top.

When the need of revising Col. Prideaux's bibliography became evident, the English publisher most naturally appealed to Mrs. Livingston, with gratifying results. The Harry Elkins Widener Stevenson collection, which is under her care, gave exceptional opportunities, and these were supplemented by the resources of the Harvard library and by correspondence with Stevenson collectors. The new edition not only embodies the information which Dr. Rosenbach brought out in his monumental Catalogue of the Widener Stevensoniana, and such additional facts as have appeared in subsequent publications, but there are also a number of details made known here for the first time, resulting from the comparison of copies and the verification of statements.

RECORDED VERSUS LOST TITLES.—A question repeatedly asked, and never satisfactorily answered, concerns the proportion of the total output of the press in times past, that survives, either in private collections, public libraries, or bibliographical records. Various guesses



at the answer are of as various value, depending partly upon the answerer's acquaintance with the subject, but quite as much upon his temperamental attitude toward the unknowable factors. The only thing that seems to be certain is that the answers deserving of consideration are always well below the real number.

An opportunity to get actual information in regard to this matter is supplied by the Acorn Club's "List of Official Publications of Connecticut, 1774-1788, as shown by the bills for printing." This gives, ordinarily in readily recognizable form, the printing that the Connecticut government paid for during this period, and is complete provided that none of the receipted bills have been mislaid. This is possible, for the "List" does not record any payment that can be identified with two separately printed acts of December, 1775, or for the regular issue of the "Acts and Laws" for the sessions held in May and in August, 1777. What is more important is that each of the items known to have been paid for, was printed. These number, for the years 1775, 1776, and 1777, respectively, 34, 74, and 53. Of these totals, a considerable proportion, 11, 29, and 16, consisted of blank forms, such as enlistment sheets, commissions, warrants, of paper money and similar necessities, which enable printers to make a living but which are not often taken into consideration by bibliographers or by the historians of printing.

It is much to be regretted that the editor, Mr. Bates of the Connecticut Historical Society, did not undertake, as he alone could have done satisfactorily,

to identify the several items and locate copies of them. The large majority are broadsides, nearly all are scarce, and as a whole they have great historical as well as bibliographical interest. As Mr. Bates did not do this, the next best thing is to compare the data supplied by this publication with that of the recognized standard, Evans' "Chronological Dictionary." For the years in question, Evans has 852, 590, and 487 entries of titles printed in what is now the United States. To official Connecticut are credited—including a few titles paid for by legislative order but properly listed under other headings—13, 28, and 19. Omitting the 3 titles for which no record of payment appears, Evans, whose work went to press after the publication of the Acorn Club edition of Trumbull's "Bibliography of Connecticut," has 60 of the 105 issues of the official Connecticut press for these years. There is no apparent reason for thinking that this ratio to unrecorded titles would not apply to the remainder of the 25,074 entries in Evans, dated in this part of America before 1793. The chances may be supposed to favor the preservation and cataloguing of official publications of a state like Connecticut.

The bills enabled Mr. Bates to give in most instances the number of copies printed, ranging from 48 to 1100, the regular edition for each session of the Laws, or 5400 for a single run of "Inlistments." The date on the bills seems to be usually that when the job was done. This is frequently a fact of bibliographical consequence, establishing, for example, that the printing of the separate

acts and of proclamations was done promptly, and that the practice of crediting publications with a late December date to the ensuing year is not justified. A number of the Evans titles appear in the wrong place, for this reason. The bills show likewise that many of the unsigned publications have not been credited to the printer who was paid for them.

G. P. W.

Nineteen publications written by William Loughton Smith of South Carolina, all but four of which appeared in 1792-97, are described by Albert Matthews in the "Proceedings" of the Massachusetts Historical Society for October, 1917.

Mr. Lee M. Friedman contributes to the Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society an account of Judah Monis, the first instructor in Hebrew at Harvard University, which is largely devoted to the incidents connected with the publication of Monis' "Hebrew Grammar," Boston, 1735. The broadside announcement, "Proposals for Printing by Subscription a Hebrew Grammar," inviting subscriptions to the same, is reproduced in facsimile.





86'

# The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America

VOLUME XIII. 1919

PART TWO

GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP

CARL B. RODEN

ANDREW KEOGH

*Publication Committee*

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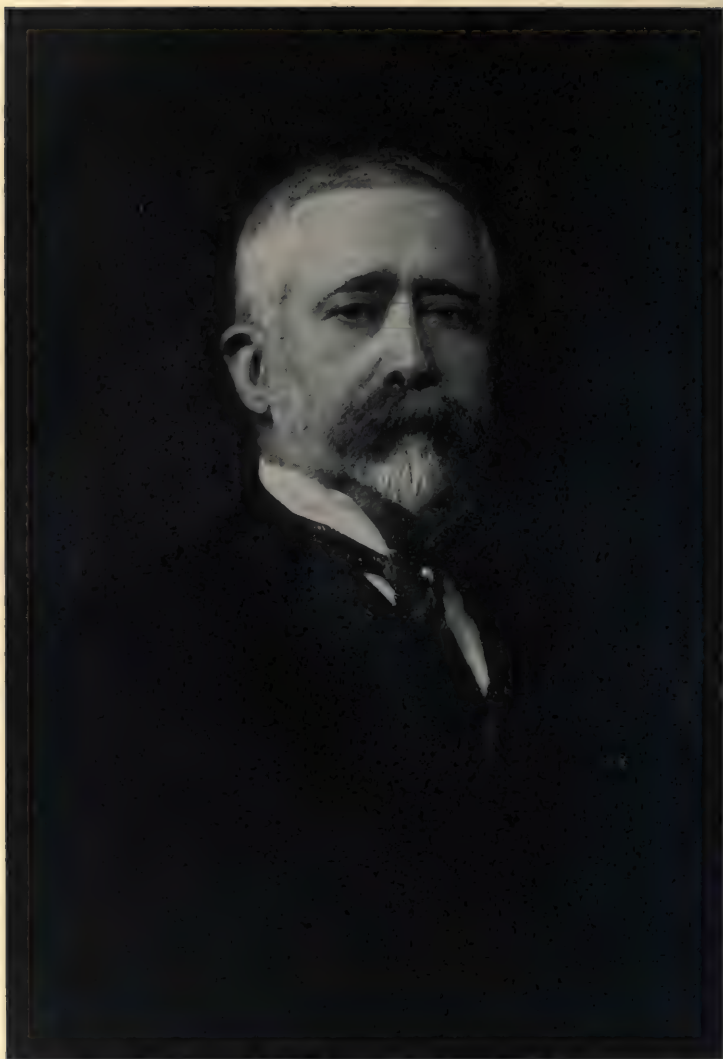
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## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL GHOSTS

BY GEORGE WATSON COLE

**B**IBLIOGRAPHIES swarm with references to editions of works that never existed. These errors we may ascribe to two causes. The first, no doubt, owes its existence to poor penmanship. Unfortunately most writers in their haste to commit their messages to writing forget that their chirography is not as legible to others as to themselves. The consequence is that when their manuscripts reach the printer they have to be deciphered by the compositors as best they can. Much amusement has been caused by printers' errors. But a moment's reflection must convince any thoughtful person that the wonder is not that printers have done no better, but that they have done as well as they have, considering the difficulties with which they have had to contend. In reading-matter the context is of great assistance in deciphering an author's meaning. But when it comes to figures there is no such aid upon which reliance can be placed, so that a mistake of this kind easily slips past the proofreader and is often not detected, even by the author himself.

A second cause for the appearance of the erroneous dates of editions found in bibliographies arises from conjectural readings of mutilated or indistinct imprints in the books themselves. I may be excused, therefore, for calling attention to two or three interesting examples as illustrations of how such errors arise and are perpetuated.

The first of these has to do with the ascription of an apocryphal date to a well-known play, which by constant repetition passed unquestioned for about a hundred years. This example shows that the mere repetition of a statement is not corroborative evidence of its truth.

In this instance A, who probably wrote an illegible hand, gave as the date of an edition figures that may have been correct. The printer in putting his copy into type did the best he could to decipher A's crabbed handwriting but failed. A may or may not have read the proofs, and even had he done so the mistake, i.e., the substitution of one numeral in a date for another, would quite likely have failed to excite his suspicion.

B, following A, found this statement and repeated it, believing it to be true. C, coming after, copied A's statement or perhaps B's. D in his turn followed, and, supposing him to have been more careful than his predecessors, may have examined all he could find that had been printed previously on the subject. He found that A, B, and C had each made the same statement, that they all agreed in giving the same date to an edition, which, in this particular case, happened to be 1616. D was naturally led into the belief that the three statements he found were corroborative. Nearly a century passed. During this time all of the statements made by A regarding other editions of the work in question found corroborative proof in the fact that copies of each were discovered and definitely located—were found, seen, handled, and examined. At last E, for the first time recognizing this



fact, questioned the statements of his predecessors regarding the date 1616, of which no copy could be found, and suggested that that date was a mistake and that it should be 1646. An edition with this date exists, but it had been omitted by A, though given later by B, C, and D and its existence definitely proved by the finding of a copy bearing that date.

Thus we see that a date once mistakenly given is difficult to refute. For this very reason the bibliographer of the present day is more and more insisting that descriptions be made from copies of the books themselves rather than from the bare statements of others concerning them which are incapable of proof.

One sometimes repeats a statement so often that at last he actually believes it to be true. Such is human nature. When we find a statement repeatedly made by different writers, we naturally assume that they corroborate one another, whereas, parrot-like, they may be simply repeating each other.

## I

A striking example illustrating this form of error may be found in the bibliography of Chapman's play of *Bussy d'Ambois*, of which the first edition appeared in 1607. This play was the most popular of any he wrote and the only one whose popularity on the stage survived the Restoration. It went through several editions, at least two before his death in 1634, and two more before the close of the seventeenth century.

✱

Baker, in his *Biographica Dramatica* (1812), gives a list of these, beginning with the first, that of 1607, followed by others dated 1608, 1616, 1641, and 1657.

Watt, whose great work, *Bibliotheca Britannica*, appeared twelve years later (1824), notes editions of 1607, 1608, 1613 (perhaps a misprint for 1616), 1641, and 1646.

Hazlitt, in his *Hand-Book* (1867), notes editions of 1607, 1608, 1616, 1641, and 1657, and, in his *Collections and Notes, Second Series* (1882), adds another, that of 1646.

Lowndes, in his *Bibliographer's Manual*, which appeared about the same time (1869), gives 1607, 1608, 1616, 1641, and 1646.

Fleay, in his *English Drama* (1891), gives 1607, 1608, 1616, 1641, and 1657.

Greg, in his *List of Plays* (1900), gives 1607, 1608, 1616 (with reference to Baker), 1641, 1646, and 1657. Two years later, however, in his *List of Masques* (1902), p. cxiii, he suggests that the date 1616 was "probably a mistake for 1646, omitted in the *Biographia*" by Baker.

The *Dictionary of National Biography* (1908) gives 1607, 1608, 1616, 1641, and 1657.

Such is the record of the different editions of this work as found in our standard bibliographies (not to mention less important ones), extending over a period of nearly one hundred years; or, to be strictly accurate, of ninety-six years. The following table shows, in a graphic manner, the records we have just given:

## CHAPMAN'S BUSSY D'AMBOIS: A TRAGEDY

Editions	1607	1608	1613	1616	1641	1646	1657
Baker, 2(1812), 73. . . . .	x	x	o	x	x	o	x
Watt, 1(1824), 212j. . . . .	x	x	x <sup>1</sup>	o	x	x	o
Hazlitt (1867), 82. . . . .	x	x	o	x	x	x <sup>2</sup>	x
Lowndes, 1(1869), 410. . . .	x	x	o	x	x	x	o
Fleay, 1(1891), 50. . . . .	x	x	o	x	x	o	x
Hazlitt (1892), 32. . . . .	x	x	o	x	x	x	x
Greg (1900), 19. . . . .	x	x	o	x <sup>3</sup>	x	x	x
D.N.B., 4(1908), 50. . . . .	x	x	o	x	x	o	x

<sup>1</sup>Perhaps a misprint for 1616.

<sup>2</sup>In *Collections and Notes* (1882), 90.

<sup>3</sup>"Probably a mistake for 1646, omitted in the *Bibliographia*" (*Masques*, cxxiii).

One bibliographer after another had thus, with occasional variations, accepted as accurate the dates given by Baker (1812) and Watt (1824). Neither makes any pretense of locating copies nor even lays claim to having seen a single copy of any of these early editions nor to have had one of them in his possession. Hazlitt, with the possible exception of Herbert, appears to have been one of the earliest English bibliographers who attempted to locate copies of the works he describes. Lowndes occasionally gives the location of a copy, as in the Bodleian or British Museum; Fleay makes no such attempt; and Hazlitt, in his *Old English Plays* (1892), contents himself with merely giving dates without comment. Dr. Greg, in his *List of Plays* (1900), gives full titles, with names of printers and dates, and locates copies in the British Museum and principal University Libraries, and, occasionally, for works of extreme rarity, in some of the smaller collections, public or private.

During the interval between Baker's work and that of Hazlitt and Greg, copies of most of the editions of Chapman's play have been definitely located. Not so, however, that of 1616. The statements of Baker and Watt, followed by those of the other writers we have named, seem to have been taken as corroborative evidence that such editions existed, and the first to raise a question was Greg, who in his *List of Masques* (1902), as we have already seen, suggested that Baker's date was "probably a mistake for 1646."

Such was the old method of compiling bibliographies. This instance is cited only as an example of many others, which careful research will most certainly disclose, and which are indeed constantly turning up in Lowndes and others who have blindly followed one another in noting editions which no doubt, as has already been suggested, owe their existence to crabbed or illegible handwriting.

Certain of the Arabic numerals, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 0, when hastily written, are peculiarly liable to be mistaken for one another; thus a 7 readily passes for a 9, a 5 for a 6, a 1 for a 4, etc., and the more crabbed the writing the more likely resulting errors.

Until, therefore, an actual copy of an edition noted by any of these old bibliographers can be located, its existence becomes a matter of considerable doubt. It would not be safe to assert positively that no such edition exists, for hidden away somewhere, as, for example, in such instances as in the great Lamport Hall and Irish finds,



copies of these questionable editions may come to light; but great caution must constantly be observed in following the early bibliographers, and it is fairly safe to assume that, if, after a period of, say, a hundred years or so, no copy can be definitely located, no such edition ever existed.

There is a possibility, remote indeed, that any work the existence of which is in doubt may turn up in some bound volume of miscellaneous pamphlets. A single instance may be mentioned. When Henry Martyn Dexter compiled the extensive bibliographical appendix to his *Congregationalism* (1880), he recorded T. Drakes's *Ten Counter Demands* of 1618 (no. 485), as known only by Euring's *Answer* to it published in 1619. A copy of Drakes's rare pamphlet, perhaps unique, is now in the library of Mr. Henry E. Huntington, and bears evidence by its cropped headlines that it must once have belonged to a bound volume of pamphlets. This little work, of four leaves only, is of special interest to collectors of Americana as it contains at the end probably the earliest recorded suggestion that the Separatists, or Puritans, "by the permission of our noble King, and honourable Counsell . . . remoue into *Virginia*, and make a plantation there, in hope to conuert infidels to Christianitie."

So we may safely conclude that, inasmuch as during this long period no copy of a 1616 impression of *Bussy d'Ambois* has turned up, no such edition was ever printed.

## II

An instance of a ghost of quite a different character occurs in the case of a little book entitled *Of the Circumference of the Earth: or, A Treatise of the North-east Passage*; imprinted at London by W. W. for Iohn Barnes, 1612. This is the second edition of *Fata Mihi Totum mea sunt agitata per Orbem*; imprinted at London by W. W. for Iohn Barnes, 1611. This latter work, notwithstanding its Latin title, is written in English. Both editions were published anonymously, but Sir Dudley Digges is its author, as is shown from Chamberlain's letter, quoted below. Digges was intensely interested in the discovery of the Northwest Passage. Alexander Brown, in his *Genesis of the United States* (2:878), says:

He aided in sending Henry Hudson to the Northwest (April 17, 1610), and Cape Digges and Digges Iland were named for him; . . . . On the 4th of December, 1611, Chamberlain wrote to Carleton: "Sir Dudley Diggs, a great undertaker of this new discovery of the North West Passage, thinks of nothing else: they are preparing ships against spring as if there were no doubt nor difficulty in the matter, and the Prince of Wales is become a partner and Protector." Chamberlain again wrote to Carleton, March 11, 1612: "There is a little treatise of the North West Passage, written by Sir Dudley Digges; but I may say *beatus qui intelligit*, especially the first period, which is but a bad beginning to stumble at the threshold. Some of his good friends say he had better have given five hundred pounds than published such a pamphlet; but he is wonderfully possessed with the opinion and hopes of that passage." . . . .

He aided in sending the voyage for the discovery of the Northwest passage which sailed in March, 1615. (William Baffin wrote

an account of this voyage.) Was a member of the Bermudas Company, June 29, 1615. In 1616 he aided in sending out another voyage on Northwest discoveries, in which another cape was named for him in "Latitude 76 degrees, 35 minutes."

In the little book now under consideration Digges gives as his reasons for writing it (p. 4) that

But because some (that holde the place, at least of) good Seamen, and Maisters in the studie of Cosmographie, deliuer their opinion without reasons, that there yet remaine on the North of *America*, many hundred Leagues for vs to passe: Wee hold it not amisse to shew you why (besides our late experience) wee thinke not so, in this succeeding short discourse.

He begins by summarizing his studies of Ptolemy, Marinus, and other ancient geographers and astronomers, coupled with the practical knowledge of the earth's surface and experience acquired by some of the voyages of the early discoverers and circumnavigators, and comes to the conclusion (p. 6) that

All men obseruing that the Sunne in foure and twentie howers was carryed round; and the most Learned, that one hower tooke vp 300. Leagues, or 900. Miles. It was concluded, that the Sunnes whole course was 24. times so much: so that the common best opinion of the greatest Compasse of the Worlde, became 7200. L. or 21600. M.

Making allowance for the decrease in the number of miles or leagues to each degree of latitude as one goes north or south toward the poles, he says (p. 23):

Now from the Meridian of the *Canaries* Westward to *Jamaica*, or to keepe our Parallel to *Virginia* by seuerall Eclipses, obserued,



by seuerall men, there hath beene found a difference of neare 60. Degrees or 4. Howers: so that the Remainder of the 135. is about 6. Degrees, or 300. English Miles betweene *Virginia* and *Noua Albion*.

For Confirmation whereof, let vs remember that the *Indians* in *Virginia* continually assure our people, that 12. daies iournie westward from the *Fals*, they haue a Sea, where they haue sometimes seene such Shippes as ours.

He then goes on to say (p. 24):

Let vs remember how *Vasques de Coronado*, sent to discouer the North of *America* by the Viceroy: *Antonio de Mendoza*, labouring in his Letters to perswade the Emperour what a large and ample Continent there was to inhabite, writeth, that at *Cibola*, hee was 150. L. from the South Sea, and a little more from the North. Let vs remember how plainly Sir *Francis Drake* his Iornal, prooues that his *Noua Albion* can be very little further Westward then *Aquatulco*; whereby see but how great a part of the Backe of *America*, is cleane wyp't away?

He then calls attention to the account of the voyages made by the Spanish navigators, from which he concludes (p. 25) that the North American continent "is nothing broad, howeuer it be painted."

He concludes by saying (p. 26):

And for any thing wee yet can heare, no one Voyage to the contrarie, wee see not but wee may conclude, that the Flood our People met, came from the Southerne Sea, and till we heare more Authentickall reasons then of feare, grounded on false Cardes, beleue that our Industry, by Gods grace, may this next Voyage, manifest the Prophetie of *Baptista Ramusius*, touching the North-west passage.

Both editions of Digges's book are in Mr. Henry E. Huntington's library; the first (1611) from the Bridge-



water House library; the second (1612), the Heber-Britwell copy.

Sabin (8:33389) enters this book under E. Hows—Edmund Howes, the chronicler, who was a member of the North-West-Passage Company (Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, 2:928)—and locates a copy of it in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, giving as the year of its publication the date 1632. A letter to Mr. Worthington C. Ford, of that library, regarding this copy elicited the following reply:

I am very glad that you asked the question about our copy "Of the Circumference of the Earth," otherwise it would have entirely escaped my attention, and the history seems to be not a little curious. The title page at first sight looks to be 1632, but on close study one can see that the last or the last two figures are in pen and ink and there is evidence of rubbing over the date. On page one in the space between typographical ornament and the text there is written in manuscript, "To the Right Honorable and worthy and Religious and vertuous Gent John Winthrop the Yonger all health and felicitie," and at the bottom of page four this foreword is signed in manuscript, "Yors, E. Hows." Hows was a correspondent of the younger Winthrop, and you will find a number of letters from him in the "Collections" of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 4th series, volume VI, page 467. In a note on page 480 of this volume there is a description of this tract, with a further manuscript note by Hows. The letter shows that Hows sent the volume to Winthrop on the 23d of November, 1632. This explains the date "1632," but it does not explain how the editor of the Winthrop volume came to mistake it for a writing of Hows. The volume came to the Society in June, 1811, by gift from its President, Thomas Lyndall Winthrop. Thus you have exposed what may be called a "fake" volume, but the faking was entirely

unconscious on the part of Hows. Under these circumstances I shall make a note in our "Proceedings" on your question and the answer. This was undoubtedly an issue of 1612.

### III

We come now to our third ghost, a case in which by the misreading of a mutilated date two editions have been created that never existed. Sometime during the second or third decades of the seventeenth century (bibliographers, as we shall soon see, are divided in opinion as to the exact date or dates, the number of editions, and authorship) there appeared from the press of Thomas Cotes, in London, a tragedy bearing the title, "*The Bloody Banquet*, by T. D."

This drama opens with a dumb show in which the events leading up to the opening of the play are represented. This scene is followed by a chorus which explains to the observer the actions which he has just witnessed in pantomime. The plot may be described as follows: The King of Lydia being at war with the King of Lycia and finding himself on the point of being vanquished, sends a messenger to the King of Cilicia, Armatrites, asking him to come to his aid. He does so, and, as a result, the Lycian king is defeated; but Armatrites, being the stronger of the two, treacherously deposes the King of Lydia, to whose assistance he had been invited. Notwithstanding the hostile relations thus brought about between the two kings, their sons, Tymethes, the Lydian, and Zenarchus, the Cilician, become friends, and the

former is encouraged by the latter, and even by the usurper himself, to make love to Amphridote, the sister of Zenarchus and daughter of the tyrant. Tymethes is reluctant to form this attachment, and particularly so after his eyes have once rested upon the Queen.

Of the character of the young Queen of Cilicia, wife of the usurper, it may be said, in passing, that she was of the type of Potiphar's wife and he, Tymethes, a not unwilling Joseph. It is upon the development of these traits of character and the sinister results that followed that the dramatist has constructed his play.

Tymethes, lacking the sternly virtuous mold of his prototype, the young Hebrew, finds himself unable to resist the machinations of the Queen and willingly submits to the strict precautions she imposes upon him in order that they may meet in secrecy. She, on her part, takes every measure and risks all to gratify her desires and yet keep her victim in complete ignorance of the exalted personage with whom he is dealing. By the lavish use of gold she attempts to secure the confidence and secrecy of her trusted attendants.

Mazeres, the favorite of the King, suspecting the infidelity of the Queen, by a still more lavish use of the precious metal wins over the Queen's keeper and go-between, Roxano. Mazeres enters so completely into the plan of carrying out the intrigue that he, in a great measure, supplants Roxano, and, by taking his place, is enabled to establish beyond a shadow of doubt the guilty acts of Tymethes and the Queen. The former is led



blindfolded to the place of rendezvous, and the darkness of night effectually prevents any discovery of the place or person involved. During his second visit, overcome by curiosity and rashly disregarding the warning that the disclosure of the identity of his paramour will result in direful consequences, he, by the aid of a dark lantern, gratifies his curiosity and makes the fatal discovery. The Queen, realizing that all is lost, acts with promptness, procures a pistol, and in order to save her life and reputation, shoots him on the spot.

Meantime Mazeres, the court favorite, has revealed the affair to the King, who, in a furor of jealousy, bursts in upon the scene with Mazeres, only to find that he has arrived too late, and that the object of his vengeance has passed beyond his reach. Notwithstanding the Queen's protestation that she had killed Tymethes in defense of her honor, her guilt is clearly established by the evidence of both Roxano and Mazeres. The King commands that the corpse of Tymethes be taken away and quartered, that the Queen be placed in confinement, and that no other food than the body of her paramour be given her until it is fully consumed.

From this point onward the action of the play moves rapidly and tragedy follows tragedy in quick succession. Roxano and Mazeres, rivals for royal advancement, meet and destroy each other. Amphridote, accusing her brother, Zenarchus, of not doing all that might have been done to prevent the death of Tymethes, poisons him as well as herself.



The last scene takes place within the castle. Several men, disguised as pilgrims, are admitted by the King, who, seeking to extenuate in some slight degree his previous misdeeds, treats them kindly. It transpires that the pilgrims are the King of Lydia, Lapisir his nephew, and a few faithful followers. The pilgrims are invited to eat. The guilty Queen is brought in and sitting apart at a separate table has brought to her on a dish the bloody head of her lover. The quartered limbs, hanging in full view of all, excite the commiseration of the pilgrims. In answer to questions, called out by this gruesome scene, the old King of Lydia learns that the quartered remains are those of Tymethes, his son. Assured by one of his attendants that the castle is in his power, he and his followers throw off their disguises. The tyrant realizing that escape is impossible kills the Queen and is in turn slain by the king whom he had so treacherously deposed.

The King of Lydia, thus restored to his kingdom, mourns that he has now no heir to succeed him. While the last acts of slaughter are taking place, the old Queen of Lydia makes a timely appearance, bringing with her their only remaining son, the heir to his father's throne, and the Lydian kingdom is once more firmly re-established.

But let us now turn from the imaginative to the conjectural; from the play to its author. We have seen by its title that it was written by one T. D. As there were a number of contemporaneous writers bearing these initials it is not surprising to find that the play has been

attributed to more than one of them. Somewhat more surprising is the fact that a number of bibliographers, assuming that these initials were printed by mistake, have proceeded to make attributions in harmony with their conjectures.

One of the first bibliographers to notice this work was Kirkman, who, in his *List of Plays*, appended to Dancer's edition of the translation of Corneille's play, *Nicomede*, London, 1671, gives the initials only and makes no attempt to name its author.

Langbaine, in his *Momus Triumphans* (1688), does the same; but in his *Account of the English Dramatic Poets*, 1691 (p. 519), he goes a step further and says, "This Play by some old Catalogues, is ascrib'd to *Thomas Basker*." Giles Jacob and Thomas Whincop in their lists published respectively in 1719 and 1747 give no further information.

Baker, more than half a century later, in his *Biographica Dramatica*, 1812, is more explicit. He says (2:61):

*The Bloody Banquet* . . . . printed . . . . with the letters T. D. . . . is, in some old Catalogues, ascribed to Tho. Barker. It was however probably written by Robert Davenport, being enumerated with some of his pieces in a list of plays that formerly belonged to the Cockpit theatre. The letters T. D. were perhaps printed by mistake in the title-page instead of R. D. See Mr. Malone's Supplement to Shakspeare, vol. i. p. 392.

Hazlitt, in his *Hand-Book* (1867), p. 136, remarks as follows: "Said to have been written by a Thomas Barker;

but this is doubtful; it has sometimes been given (with equal probability) to Robert Davenport."

Professor Schelling, a recent writer, in his *Elizabethan Drama* is inclined to set aside earlier conjectures. He says: "This tragedy, though a reversion to older and cruder type, is not without a certain brute force of its own. It seems hardly up to the level of Davenport, although it has been thought his. It is perhaps the work of Thomas Drue, the author of an old-fashioned chronicle play, *The Dutchess of Suffolk* [1631] of much the same date."

We thus see that the play has not lacked for a pater-nity. Not only have nearly all the dramatists whose initials correspond to those on the title-page been called upon to father it, but others with entirely different initials have also been called in to exercise that relationship. It is now probably too late to ascertain with any degree of certainty who actually wrote *The Bloody Banquet*. The only safe course, therefore, for the cataloguer to pursue is to follow the general practice and enter it under the initials "D., T." as they occur on the title-page, with a reference from the title.

But there is another and more important question connected with this play that we are able to take up with greater confidence. This is the question as to the number of times it appeared in print. The solution of this point can only be definitely determined by a critical comparison of a number of copies side by side.

We are told by bibliographers that editions of *The Bloody Banquet* appeared in 1620, 1630, and 1639. Let us for a moment consider what some of them have to say on this point, and, incidentally, it will be observed that the record extends over a period of nearly 250 years.

Kirkman (1671), whose list is but a skeleton, gives no date.

Langbaine (1681) says, "printed 1620."

Baker (1812), "printed in 4to 1620 and 4to 1639."

Halliwell (1860), in his *Catalogue of the Malone Collection*, in the Bodleian Library, gives the date of that copy as 1639.

Hazlitt (1867), in his *Hand-Book*, gives the date as 1630 and notes an edition of 1639.

The *Dyce Catalogue* (1875) and the *Huth Catalogue* (1880) both say 1639.

The British Museum (1884) *Catalogue of Books to 1640* gives the date of both its copies as 1620.

The Boston Public Library (1888), in the *Barton Catalogue*, says 1639.

Fleay (1891), in his *English Drama*, under Thomas Drue, gives the dates 1630 and 1639.

Hazlitt (1892), in his *Old English Plays*, says 1639.

Greg (1900), in his *List of Plays*, gives 1620 and refers to Hazlitt for an edition of 1639.

Sayle (1902) gives the date 1620 to a fragment of two leaves (B2, 3) in the Cambridge University Library. They lack the title-page, and the date 1620, which he



adopts, is unmistakably taken from the Catalogue of the British Museum.

Farmer (1914), in his *Facsimile Reprint* of the British Museum copy, places the date at 1620.

Hazlitt alone, in an obscure corner of *The Antiquary* for August, 1889 (20:61), says, without giving any reasons for his statement: "*Bloody Banquet, The.*—By T. D., 1639. This is the only edition."

We thus see that three editions are recorded and that in not a single instance is the date given as uncertain or with so much as a query. It is difficult, of course, to determine just how many of the dates above given are copied from those found in previous lists or how many are based upon an actual examination of the book itself. We must assume, however, that at least the dates given in the library catalogues are based upon actual copies; but even these differ.

We think it has been plainly shown that, much as the English, as a nation, love a moral, this tale was quite too repulsive for a second edition.

Copies of this play, while not commonly met with, are not of exceptional rarity. Most of those known, however, are in public institutions from which they cannot be taken; so that an examination of copies side by side cannot easily be made.

It may prove of interest to enumerate the known copies and see what is recorded of them. In England there are two copies in the British Museum, one in the Dyce Collection at the South Kensington Museum, one, the Malone

copy, in the Bodleian Library, and a fragment, lacking the title-page, in the University Library at Cambridge. There was also a copy in the Huth Library, sold in 1912 (2:1951), and others, Lord Mostyn's copies (nos. 84 and 85), have been sold recently. It may not unreasonably be supposed that there are as many other copies still hidden away in other private collections in England.

In America we know of one copy in the Barton Collection at the Boston Public Library, and three others in the library of Mr. Henry E. Huntington. A systematic search may reveal as many more in other private collections in this country.

There is a peculiarity of the title-page, common to all known copies, that bibliographers seem to have overlooked. The type, like that of many other books of the period, is set up on a larger scale than the letterpress in the body of the work. The complete title-page measures  $6\frac{3}{4}$  inches in height by  $3\frac{1\frac{5}{8}}{16}$  inches in width; while the text in the body of the work, including headlines, signature-marks and catchwords, measures only  $6\frac{7}{16}$  inches in height by  $3\frac{5}{8}$  inches in width. The title-page is therefore  $\frac{5}{16}$  of an inch taller and just that much wider than the text. It is doubtless owing to this fact that the binder, in trimming the book, has in many cases cut into and in some instances entirely cut away the lower line of the imprint, which, in full, reads:

LONDON

Printed by *Thomas Cotes*. 1639.

Similar instances are not uncommon. When once this fact is realized, the reason why so many imprints are found cropped will become evident. A similar case, of a later date, may be given. Denton's *Brief Description of New York*, London, 1670, is a parallel case. Its title-page is so very much larger than the text that often the whole or a considerable part of the imprint, of four closely printed lines, has been cut off by the binder. Few copies, even, have the second line remaining.

We venture to suggest that the reason why so many of these early title-pages were set up on a larger scale than the text to which they belong was due to the fact that the type of the title-page was set by a different compositor from those who set up the body of the book. In every printing office there are compositors who are more successful than their fellow-craftsmen in setting up what is known as display matter. A title-page is of this character of composition. When it came time to set up the title-page, what then would be more natural than that this work should be put into the hands of the man who could do this class of work most successfully? Without paying strict attention to the size of the text he most likely went ahead with his work and set it up according to his own ideas. The result was a title-page wider and longer than the text. Furthermore, innumerable pamphlets were in former days bound together in single volumes. When the binder cut the edges he was naturally guided by the first title-page in the volumes so bound. As a result of this procrustean process many a title-page was cropped, and,



consequently, we are constantly finding volumes in which the date or the entire imprint has disappeared.

But let us again return to *The Bloody Banquet*. Attention should once more be called to its imprint as given above, which, for reasons that will presently appear, we will here repeat. It reads:

LONDON

Printed by *Thomas Cotes*. 1639.

In order to understand fully what is to follow, the reader should remember that in the old-style of type, used in printing books of that period, the lower curve of the 3 and the tail of the 9 extended below the lower edge of the text, a fact that, taken in connection with the mutilations of the binders, has given rise to all the errors regarding the date of this particular work.

We may now proceed intelligently to examine such records as we have of the copies already enumerated.

Unfortunately neither of the copies in the British Museum has escaped the binder's knife. The Museum's *Catalogue of Books to 1640* (1:440) records two copies, to both of which the date 1620 is given. When John S. Farmer, in 1914, was looking for scarce books to add to his collection of the *Tudor Facsimile Texts of Old English Plays*, he considered this play of sufficient rarity to be included in that excellent series and selected one of the British Museum copies, the one with the press-mark 643, c. 4., from which to make his facsimile. It goes without saying that of the two, he selected the one with the



more complete imprint. Now, unfortunately, in the copy he selected the lower part of the line, | *Printed by Thomas Cotes. 1639.* |, has been completely cut away close up to the lower edge of the line so that only the upper part of the 3 and the circle of the 9 remain. We are safe in assuming that the imprint of the remaining copy is in an even more mutilated condition, otherwise he would have selected that. Such, then, is the state of the British Museum copies, to each of which the date 1620 has been given.

The imprint of the copy in the Bodleian Library, if reliance is to be placed on Halliwell's *Catalogue of the Malone Collection*, is intact. Such also appears to be the case of the copy in the Dyce Collection, at the South Kensington Museum. To both of those copies the date 1639 has been given.

The copy in the University Library at Cambridge is, as has already been stated, a fragment. It consists of but two leaves (B2, 3), and the date in Mr. Sayle's catalogue (2:4601) is unquestionably taken from that in the British Museum's *Catalogue of Books to 1640*, based, as we have just seen, upon a mutilated date.

The *Huth Catalogue* describes a copy, to which the date 1639 is given, but it is only in the *Sale Catalogue* (2:1951) that we learn that the last two figures of the imprint date have been cut into. The *Mostyn Catalogue* ascribes the play (nos. 84 and 85) to R. Davenport, gives to them the dates 1620 and 1639, and of the former it says "imprint cut into."

It will thus be seen that of the imprints in the eight copies recorded in England only three are by any possibility intact.

Now as to the American copies. That in the Barton Collection in the Boston Public Library appears to have an unimpaired imprint. In Mr. Huntington's library are three copies: (1) the Kemble-Devonshire copy, which bears Kemble's usual autograph inscription, *collated & perfect. J:P:K. 1798*; (2) the Robert Hoe copy, with an interesting provenance. On the verso of the fifth flyleaf is a note in the handwriting of Dr. Philip Bliss, presumably one of its former owners. Doctor Bliss, it will be remembered, was under-librarian at the Bodleian and the editor of Anthony à Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*. This copy also contains the autograph signatures of *Thos. Jolley 1807*, and *Henry G. Ashmead 1856*, and the ex-libris of Jolley and Hoe; (3) the third copy is in a bound volume of Davenport's plays, in which it was presumably placed because, as already stated, *The Bloody Banquet* has sometimes been thought to have been written by that author.

In the Kemble-Devonshire copy the last line of the imprint has been entirely cut away. In the other two copies it remains in full as printed. The Hoe copy has a very narrow margin of white paper, one-eighth of an inch wide, below the lower ends of the last two figures of the date, while in the remaining copy the binder's knife has just escaped bleeding them.

Fortunately we have been able to compare these copies with Farmer's facsimile of the copy in the British

Museum. A critical examination of all these copies for nicked or broken letters, spacings, alignments, wrong-font letters, typographical errors, etc. (and such features are by no means infrequent), shows that all of the Huntington copies are identical in these respects, and that they agree in every minute particular with the Farmer *Facsimile Reprint* of the British Museum copy. The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible. All four were printed from but one and the same setting of type. Thus falls to the ground the statements, made from 1691 to this year of grace 1919, that there were three different editions of this play, those of 1620, 1630, and 1639. Two of these dates we have seen to be surmises made concerning copies in which the lower line had been cut into by the binder, close up to the bottom of the line reading, "Printed by Thomas Cotes. 1639."

Another case, strikingly similar in character, is to be seen in a copy of the First Folio of Shakespeare in the Lenox Collection in the New York Public Library. In this copy the lower line of the imprint, reading, "Printed by Isaac Iaggard, and Ed. Blount, 1623.", was also cut close up to the lower edge of the letterpress. The lower margin, thus cut away, has since been skilfully extended and what remains of the upper part of the figure 3 cunningly touched up to resemble a figure 2, so that the date apparently reads 1622. This has been done so adroitly as almost to deceive the very elect; but by holding the leaf up to the light the joining of the paper is seen and the fraud instantly detected.

There is but one other point that need detain us in considering the play of *The Bloody Banquet*. Professor Schelling, in his *Elizabethan Drama* (1:594), makes the statement that this play was registered for publication in 1620, nineteen years before it was actually printed. As we were unable to find any authority for such a statement we communicated with the author of it, who has recently admitted his inability to verify it, so that the final obstacle to the conclusions here reached is completely removed.

For more than two and a quarter centuries this phantom has stalked through the bibliographies and histories of the English drama disguised in a tissue of conjectures and innocent misstatements. With better facilities for a comparison of copies the time has at last come when we can, with confidence, relegate it to the place of departed shades; for the most minute scrutiny fails to show that *The Bloody Banquet* was ever contemporaneously printed from more than one setting of type and that its title-page bore but one date, that of 1639.



# THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WAR AND THE RECONSTRUCTION OF BIBLIOGRAPHI- CAL METHODS

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THE present paper is not a bibliography of bibliographies on the war. This matter is being very much better attended to by Mr. Meyer, of the Library of Congress. The point of it is that, on account of the enormous quantity of the literature on the war, a serious effort to handle this literature on a large scale, for immediate practical purposes, is a good example of the whole modern bibliographical problem—the problem of the great increase in the quantity of books. The paper is intended to call attention to the extent and diversity of the problem and the methods used to meet it in this case, and the need of developing and improving these methods, if the rapidly increasing quantity of literature in the world is to be mastered for the practical ends of research.

The fundamental object of bibliography is to enable a thinker to get together the results of previous thinkers on the same subject in order to build on this foundation, avoiding the labor of repeating work already done—not to mention the humiliation of finding when the work has really been finished that it has been done before and perhaps done better. This object finds its most definite illustration in the modern university thesis, where the

first search is for some topic on which no one else has done anything. Here the actual search is negative; it aims to find some minute subject on which nothing at all has been written. It soon becomes positive, however, in the fact that the process involves the exhaustive gathering of the literature of the entire narrow field in which this special untreated topic or aspect lies. The problem of the green A.B., set face to face with his world of say five million books and one hundred million periodical articles, with his Ph.D. and his academic life at stake, is to make sure that no one else has published his thesis before him—that there is no needle in the haystack—and his problem is that of research workers everywhere. The solution of the problem lies, of course, in general terms, in organization, that is to say, transforming a disorderly mass of unrelated things into an orderly series in which like things are put together into groups and groups of groups until, instead of having to look over and pass a judgment on one hundred and five millions, one has only to examine a few thousands. The problem is not a modern problem, but its seriousness is modern; it lies in the fact of incredible quantity and an incredible annual increase. In the most ancient times, when the whole sum of the recorded knowledge was contained in a few tablets laid up in a temple storehouse, the matter was simple enough—one man's memory held them all easily.

The invention of papyrus, the invention of alphabetical handwriting, the invention of vellum, the invention of paper, the invention of printing with movable type, and

the many inventions for cheapening the cost of paper or the cost of composition through stereotype and electrotype processes up to the recent days of wood-pulp paper and machine composition, have multiplied recorded literature faster and faster. Each stage, of course, developed more or less practical bibliographical processes devised to cope with the situation, precisely as the invention of each new projectile results in the invention of better protective armor, but, of course, each new invention produces a season of partial chaos while its counteragent is being evolved. At present we are in one of those periods where the enormous increase in the number of individual items produced has not been kept pace with by the bibliographical tools, and the result is a sort of bibliographical anarchism relieved by some noteworthy classified groups and by a few attempts at a more general systemization. These attempts are, some of them, on a large scale, and the best of them are the dictionary catalogues of our great American libraries.

Some of the more ambitious and important efforts to meet the situation on a general bibliographical basis are the *International Catalogue of Scientific Literature*, the *Zurich Index*, and the Wilson publications. These attempts mitigate the situation but at the same time accent the overwhelming character of the present bibliographical need in the very fact that, although inclusive to the point of millions of references, they only touch the fringe of the matter, and at a few points, while their varying methods supply some needs well, but others badly or not at all.



The net situation of this overwhelming mass of material is like the net situation of humanity itself in these days: it has broken down so far as any grip on the whole is concerned, and it is in danger of falling into complete disintegration through progressive specialization and progressive inclination to trouble one's self only with the best things nearest at hand. This anarchy comes largely from the breakdown of the old methods of compilation and use. The bibliography of the war offers, as has been suggested, an admirable, concrete, up-to-date illustration of the problem, because the field is so definite in its time limits, especially in the *terminus a quo*.

The occasion of this paper is the fact that the Princeton University Library has had to wrestle with this problem. It has been asked to give some account of its experiments in bibliographical method in the working out of this problem in the hope of being useful to others working in other fields. The Princeton Library is specializing on two broad aspects of the war; in its Benjamin Strong collection of books on the economic aspects of the war, and in the J. O. H. Pitney collection on the international law aspects. It has been, therefore, necessary to gather titles very exhaustively on these subjects, and at the same time considerable money has been provided for purchasing the best books on other aspects of the war. This raised the whole double problem of modern bibliography on a large scale: the gathering of everything for the use of the extreme specialists and the discriminating selection out of the great mass of world-books of those which give the



sum and substance of everything in the most condensed and readable form and with the best references to the more special literature, as well as critical judgments regarding the relative usefulness or worthlessness of this literature. The mere exhaustive gathering of everything on the subject is an extensive but rather simple aspect of the matter. The choice of the best is, as everyone knows, far more difficult. This is an artistic process which requires the very best gray matter available and a vast amount of time, special training, and knowledge of sources and method. Moreover, and most difficult of all, the work at Princeton had to be done under the circumstance that in various matters material was wanted for use at once and for important practical purposes. This was especially true of many of the war problems or problems of reconstruction which involved war experience. Some of the actual uses were concerned with the problems of labor and of immigration, the League of Nations, several matters affecting commercial geography, religious propaganda, education, etc. It was therefore a problem, not simply of getting together all the titles or the best titles, but of getting them at once and for practical use—the real modern problem.

The mere gathering of all titles in alphabetical order, although the simplest, was not by any means a small task. The scope of the undertaking included every book or pamphlet of sufficient importance to secure its inclusion in a priced sales catalogue, or in the catalogues of the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library, the

British Museum, the Lyons and the Le Blanc libraries, and other printed catalogues. The Le Blanc catalogue alone, and covering only to March, 1916, contained between eleven and twelve thousand books and pamphlets, with about sixty thousand periodical articles, broadsides, posters, items of currency, postage stamps, postal cards, museum objects, etc. It was comparatively a simple matter for a library with adequate clipping methods to cumulate the catalogues of Le Blanc and Lange, the accessions to the New York Public Library, the British Museum Library, the exhaustive Hinrich's list for the first nine months of the war, and, of course, the Library of Congress titles through its printed cards. It was easy also to add to these certain booksellers' lists and minor bibliographies.

This cumulation produced, in the first instance, a total of fifteen or twenty thousand titles growing in two years to about thirty thousand; but this did not begin to exhaust the booksellers' lists. Accordingly, the French, Italian, and Spanish lists were included, the assumption being that the Library of Congress and the British Museum would have all the latest English and American titles. By the courtesy of H. G. Leach, of the Scandinavian Foundation, a list of over one thousand Scandinavian titles was secured, and Dutch, Portuguese, and other literatures were provided for. It was naturally not easy to get hold of the German sources, but these were finally obtained through the courtesy of the State Department, and have now been brought up to the end of February

of this year. As some of these sections have been done by collaboration, and reports for others are not yet in, it is not possible to say exactly how many titles have been automatically gathered through these processes, but when the odds and ends are caught up and matters brought to July 1, 1919, it is likely that the titles will number not less than sixty or seventy thousand, under the rule of counting only such as are in priced booksellers' catalogues or are entered in library catalogues and bibliographies as volumes and pamphlets, not as broadsides or sub-pamphlet material. The gathering has been chiefly by photostating and clipping, or by short title-reference typewriting.

This gives the rough scope of the bibliographical proposition of the war as to quantity of books and pamphlets, but it is only the beginning of the quantity proposition as it affects the research worker. There remains the more extensive matter of periodical articles and other sub-pamphlet material—posters, cartoons, photographs, music, currency, museum objects, and all the rest, important enough in their way although not belonging so much to the direct bibliographical problem, since their use is chiefly as monuments, not as literature. The extent of this latter field is suggested by the fact that the Le Blanc collection for the first twenty months of the war included less than twelve thousand books and pamphlets against forty thousand sub-pamphlet items. This catalogue contains also about twenty thousand periodical articles. Moreover, the



interesting classified catalogue of the public library of Lyons also contains large numbers of periodical articles, probably increasing the twenty thousand extracts of the Le Blanc catalogue by several thousand.

These sources, however, give little idea of the extent of the periodical problem. The published periodical indexes give a better but still imperfect idea. The titles in the German periodical indexes, e.g., have been estimated as not less than ten thousand articles in German periodicals annually, or say fifty thousand for the course of the war. Testing out in the same way by the Wilson indexes, it may be estimated that, although there are only some twenty-five hundred articles indexed under the caption "European War," the number indexed under the subheadings of countries or special subjects is so great as to point to probably twenty thousand articles per year in all the indexes, *Wilson*, *Faxon*, the *Athenaeum*, and others, or a hundred thousand English indexed articles altogether for the war. All this points to not less than 150,000 indexed titles in English and German alone. Add to these titles in other languages and the well-recognized fact, to which Mr. Teggart is now calling attention most vigorously, that only a small fraction of the best periodicals in the historical and linguistic and certain other sciences are included in the indexes, and it gives a strong probability of a million titles of periodical articles on the war. All this is outside the strictly ephemeral publications and does not take account of the vast number of articles in the daily press which are of value to future historians of



the war. These latter will be used at least in the indexed newspapers—the *London Times* and the *New York Times*—and must be taken account of by bibliographers.

The quantity of posters, broadsides, war currency, and museum objects may be guessed at by the fact that such items in the Library of Congress, excluding periodical articles and museum objects, equal the number of books and pamphlets, while the Le Blanc catalogue contains almost as many of these as it does of books, pamphlets, periodical articles, and museum objects put together. The field of relics and photographs is almost unlimited but must be left quite out of account. The items of posters, war currency, broadsides, trench newspapers, war stamps, and other matters suitable for ordinary cataloguing probably amount to at least as many as the items of books and pamphlets.

So much for the quantity. Turning now to quality, the instructions to the librarian at Princeton were, to begin with, to get everything on the war as fast as published. This instruction came, of course, in part from lack of bibliographical experience, but it was not such an impossible thing at first. Later, when a throng of worthless books appeared, the expensiveness of this plan grew more apparent, and some big libraries even settled down to getting only the most necessary books, with the formulated theory that the rest could be secured more cheaply after the war. This, however, did not work for Princeton nor for any of the other important libraries which were actively besieged by research workers

engaged on economic and international law questions which concerned the countries at war, and for whom a very large percentage of war literature was useful from one angle or another. The situation required rapid selection and anticipation of use. The library was fortunate in having the aid in this selection, especially of titles in English, first of Mr. James W. Alexander, who gave much of his leisure to it in the early days of the war, and then of Mr. William A. Paton, who up to the time of his illness and recent death gave to the task a great deal of his time and his valuable journalistic experience, well-trained taste, and judgment. It had also naturally the help of professors, particularly of Professors McCabe, Kemmerer, and Blau in economics, Professor Corwin in international law, and in various other classes of Professor Morse, the history reference librarian. Photostating and clipping methods were freely employed in preparing material for the use of these helpers and for the more wholesale and automatic methods of selection which had to be put in operation. The *London* and *New York Times* weekly supplements, the A.L.A. book list, the Lange bibliographies, and a number of shorter annotated lists, all the titles in the *American Economic Review*, and many minor annotated lists were clipped, cumulated, and used as aids in selection—and of course the *Athenaeum*, the *Book Review Digest*, and the critical journals in general were freely used. Latterly the choosers had the use of advance copies of an admirable annotated list for books in English on the religious aspects of the war, by Mr. Bradshaw.

When it came to still more wholesale methods of accumulation the simple if dangerous method of selection by title was freely used, with the feeling that a few slips now and then were worth what they cost, and yet not forgetting the experience of the learned professor, librarian of a certain theological seminary, who, ordering what he wanted out of the Macmillan lists, found that the *History of Joseph* which he got was printed on cloth and in words of one syllable!

Probably the best aids to wholesale selection were the accession catalogues of those libraries which themselves strictly select. One of the first steps taken, therefore, was to arrange a joint list of titles in the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library, and the Princeton University Library. These together yielded up to May 14, 1915, something less than 15,000 titles, which were printed in photostat. On July 18 an alphabetical list of the British Museum titles additional to these was printed, containing about 5,000 more titles. All these together, however, lacked at least one-third of the really important purchasable titles in English, French, and Italian—if one might judge by titles in the full cumulated list. These were freely purchased in some classes by title or by handling. On the whole, the best first aids to wholesale selections were the Library of Congress cards and the New York Public Library *Bulletin*.

While no attempt was made to meet the problem of periodical literature and the sub-pamphlet material systematically, two or three contributions were made



in the field of periodical titles which were needed for purposes of immediate use. A very considerable number of posters, war currency, museum objects, and so on, amounting to nearly 5,000 titles, likewise had to be handled somehow and handled quickly. An admirable guide to the entire field of the periodical literature on the economic aspects was found in the annotated periodical articles of the *American Economic Review*. These were clipped for the whole period of the war, cumulated in their rough classified order on cards, and, as there was a demand for articles on the subject of labor, these were photostat printed as cumulated.

Again, having loaned the recent volumes of certain periodicals on international law for the use of the Peace Commission, the library undertook the indexing of these periodicals. This was interrupted by the armistice and the taking of the books abroad, but the cards had been drawn off, and the matter was taken up later through the enthusiasm of a member of the Senior class, Mr. Charles R. Arrott, and the index was photostat printed. Again, it was thought that for the same purpose a cumulation of the very exhaustive indexes to periodicals published in the *American Journal of International Law* and the *Political Science Review* might be useful to experts on international law. Accordingly a complete rough cumulated subject catalogue was made of all the titles on international and public law in general which were contained in these. This needs weeding for duplicate titles, and to make a good publication it would require much editing, but it is useful and was made quickly at small expense.



In the matter of sub-pamphlet material the library was somewhat overwhelmed, thanks to the generosity of Mr. Benjamin Strong and Messrs. Taber, Garrett, Wright, and other alumni. Altogether this amounted to about 5,000 items, including 3,000 posters, 600 or 700 items of war currency, and a great many relics from battlefields. All of the posters and emergency war currency were photostated at once and provided with a title-a-bar linotype cumulated index. The relics from the battlefield are being treated in the same way and were in part furnished with printed catalogue description in the conventional library method.

The point of this paper being, as was said in the beginning, to call attention to new methods which have already been evolved for meeting the modern bibliographical problem, as illustrated in actual use on this proposition, I would sum up these methods briefly as a combination of clipping, photostat, and cumulative bar methods.

The cumulation of clippings can, of course, be made in folders by writing catchwords on the outside. One considerable improvement in method has been the use of the transparent paper envelope, which avoids the expense of writing the title or catchword. Another great advance in method is the fact that these irregular-sized clippings kept in transparencies or folders can be printed at any time in cumulation on the photostat without mounting on uniform cards. In this connection, moreover, it may be said that several methods of in-setting have been developed recently that reduce the

expense and increase the convenience of handling pasted slips.

In producing photostat editions only one thing is essential in order to get good results: the matter, whether typewritten or printed, should be close to the top of the card. There are many details of more or less advantage, such as methods of bringing photostat negatives for clipping to a uniform size, but the one essential point is to be free of the upper blank margin. The method is shown at its best by the fact that if any set of cards is written with a good black ribbon on top of the line and kept cumulated, these can be laid on the machine and printed in negative at the rate of not far from 20,000 titles a day, and, if wanted, two additional copies can be made each day following in positive.

It is obvious that this opens a great field for the indexing of periodicals owned by only a few libraries. The process can be carried out roughly as follows: (1) straight copying of periodical titles uniformly on the typewriter at an average of twenty-five titles an hour, (2) rough alphabetical subjecting of these cards by an expert with two inexpensive clerks, 200 cards per hour with 10 per cent of time additional for looking up obscure subjects, (3) alphabetizing automatically by subjects with typewritten guide cards, (4) laying on and printing at the rate of about 3,000 an hour.

The linotype-bar methods have been, thanks to the large-scale activity of the Wilson Company, developed very much more than the photostat methods and are

familiar to all. The maximum advantage of the method comes with confining each title to a single bar and handling this as a card is in the card catalogue. A method of filing and redistributing these bars by printing on and filing in small envelopes has been extensively used in this undertaking.

The net result of this experience is the belief that at the present stage of things the best method for wholesale bibliographical work is the extensive clipping of full titles arranged in numerical order of the accessions of the titles, with title-a-bar cumulated index. If only a single copy is needed, the card index is perfectly good. If needed in half a dozen to a dozen copies, the 60- to 100-letter title on the top of a card for photostating is the most economical solution. If more copies are wanted, the printed linotype-bar index is best.

The only salvation of the bibliographical situation seems to be the application of these methods on a large scale. The improvements in method are such that a courageous application by large libraries on a large scale might easily be made to produce that Universal Catalogue of Literature of which many have dreamed, and which a few, like the Brussels *Institute*, have attempted.

## MANEANT SUA DATA LIBELLIS: A PROTEST AND A PLEA

BY WILLIAM MUSS-ARNOLT, B.D., PH.D.  
The Public Library, Boston, Massachusetts

SOME time ago the Boston Public Library acquired, at the sale of the Huth Library, several books. Among these I mention the 1552 *Brevis et dilucida de sacramentis Ecclesiæ Christi tractatio* . . . per Ioannem à Lasco. Londini per Stephanum Myerdamannum; and the *Preces privatae* of 1564. The books are in fine, almost sumptuous, morocco binding of recent date and every indication of former ownership—labels and all—is thus entirely destroyed. The same is true of a copy of Walter Haddon's revision of the Latin translation of the Book of Common Prayer by Alexander Aless (Alesius), published in 1560 as *Liber Precum publicarum . . . in Ecclesia Anglicana*,<sup>1</sup> which had been bought in by Robert Scott at the Amherst Sale (1908-09), No. 715, and came later into the possession of Dr. Benton through Quaritch. The book has Lord Amherst's bookplate but no other indication as to former ownership. It is bound in red morocco with blind antique ornaments and gilt edges. The red color is somewhat faded, an indication that the book came in this binding to Lord Amherst. It is the same copy which at the Rev. William Makellar sale,

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<sup>1</sup> On Haddon's revision, see the present writer's *The Book of Common Prayer among the Nations of the World* (London, 1914), pp. 31-34.



December 7, 1898, No. 2429, sold for £3.17.6. The earmarks of the Makellar copy, viz., title leaf and upper right-hand corner of next leaf, most skilfully mended, are there; but every indication as to Makellar's ownership or that of any of his predecessors is wanting. These are but a few of many similar cases.

This custom of some large book collectors of rebinding early, rare books, thus destroying every indication of former ownership and actually obliterating the whole past history of the individual copy, impresses true lovers of books and conscientious bibliographers as vandalism and shows that these "great" book collectors are more interested in sumptuous modern bindings than in the preservation of the historic and individual character of early, rare, and in some cases unique, books. It is, likewise, one of the lamentable defects in many of the fine, printed catalogues of these collectors that the provenance of such volumes is, in no case, indicated, thus depriving students of the history of bibliography of the opportunity to identify them with, or distinguish them from, copies mentioned and described in earlier catalogues and bibliographical manuals or referred to in other quarters.

As a lover of books, early and rare, and a student of their migration from one collector to another, from one private library to another, distant at times thousands of miles from their original resting-place and domicile, I beg leave to protest most emphatically against such barbarous treatment of old friends and earnestly to beseech collectors of books to whom these lines may

appeal to avoid eradicating by new, fancy rebinding the history of early and rare books, of which, as a rule only a very few copies are known to have survived the wreck of time and the ravages of dust and the bookworm. These sumptuous modern morocco bindings of early books have always left upon me an impression similar to that made by the presentation of venerable persons dressed in the habiliments of youths of seventeen.

That there are now, and that there have always been, exceptions among book collectors, men who have treated early and rare books in their possession as real and personal friends and not merely as show-pieces in splendid covers for their own aggrandizement and the superficial admiration of friends and visitors, constitutes a happy feature to true lovers of books and is known to the readers of the *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*. None, to my knowledge, have surpassed in the safe and sane treatment of early and rare books the late Josiah Henry Benton, LL.D.

Mr. Benton was born in 1843 and died February 6, 1917. He was a trustee of the Boston Public Library for twenty years and for nearly nine years the president of the board. At his death, Mr. Benton bequeathed to the Library his splendid collection of Books of Common Prayer and other liturgical books, and books printed by John Baskerville, in addition to the provisional bequest of a large amount of money, the largest gift in all the history of the Boston Public Library, amounting to more than two million dollars. Of this amount one-half of the net

income is to be applied to the purchase of books desirable for scholarly research and use; the other half to be held as an accumulating fund, to be invested and reinvested, until the total amount thereof shall be two million dollars, this total amount to be applied either in the enlargement of the present central library building, or to the construction of another central library building in such part of the city as may be then most desirable for the accommodation of the people of Boston.<sup>1</sup>

But it is not with Dr. Benton as the great benefactor of the Boston Public Library that we are just now concerned, but with the sane and sagacious treatment of early and rare, in a few cases unique, books in his liturgical collection. To this I desire to call the attention of all lovers and collectors of books, their advisers, and librarians.

Now, someone may ask, how came Mr. Benton to make a collection of Prayer Books, in which, as his friends knew, he took only an antiquarian and legal interest?

Some years before the death of Bishop Henry Codman Potter, Mr. and Mrs. Benton spent a summer in Europe. While staying in London, Mrs. Benton saw a finely printed copy of the first issue of the Caroline revision of the Book of Common Prayer, a large folio, with wide margins. It pleased her, and Mr. Benton bought the copy. Returning home on the same steamer with Bishop

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<sup>1</sup>The portrait of Dr. Benton, which appears as the frontispiece of this issue, is used through the courtesy of the editors of *Bostonia*, the official organ of Boston University.



Potter, Mr. Benton showed him the copy he had bought, and the Bishop, knowing that his friend was a great lover of books, suggested to him that he make a collection of prayer books and related liturgies.

At first Mr. Benton bought rather promiscuously, most of his purchases being from the former Bishop Gott library. When I became acquainted with him, in 1907, his collection amounted to not more than a hundred Books of Common Prayer and works relating to them.<sup>1</sup> Within three years the collection grew to 397 books and pamphlets, as the first edition of my catalogue of the collection shows.<sup>2</sup> After the first edition of the catalogue had been printed, Mr. Benton and the present writer endeavored to fill, from time to time, any apparent gaps so that it might be possible to present a harmonious and almost complete historical catalogue of the origin and growth of the Book of Common Prayer and related liturgies. Many an evening I spent examining catalogue upon catalogue, looking for some literary liturgical "nugget," to fill gaps still existing. And once, I am convinced, I caught one of the shrewdest book-dealers napping, when, after a long search for another book, I happened to see in Ludwig Rosenthal's catalogue, *Protestantische Theologie*, a copy of the Brandenburg-

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<sup>1</sup> See the *Catalogue of Selected Editions of the Book of Common Prayer Both English and American*, Boston, published by the trustees of the Public Library, 1907.

<sup>2</sup> *The Book of Common Prayer and Books Connected with Its Origin and Growth*. Boston. Privately printed (By D. B. Updike, the Merrymount Press). 1910. vi, 84 pp. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ ×6 $\frac{1}{4}$  in., in 8s.



Nürnberg Kirchen-Ordnung of 1533, offered for 60 marks. Realizing the influence of this Lutheran service book upon the First Edwardine Liturgy of 1549, I urged Mr. Benton to secure the book immediately. When the copy reached here, it proved to be a well-preserved, tall copy, scarcely trimmed, in the original and contemporary binding of wooden covers, with heavy pigskin back, brass clasps, and pigskin guide tabs. It was, as stated, in excellent preservation and, at the price asked for it, can almost be considered a present. *Quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus* could well be applied here to the shrewd and usually wide-awake Munich antiquary.

In the year 1790 the book belonged to "Fr. Niv. Abbas 1790," i.e. Frater Nivardus Schlimbach, last and most learned Abbot of Bildhausen, Cistercian Abbey in Lower Franconia, Germany. He evidently thought highly of the book, for the same hand wrote just below the main title the words: "editio rarissima, vid: Bauer, Bibliotheca," a great tribute by a Roman Catholic dignitary to an ultra-Protestant publication. Contrast now this copy, in original contemporary binding, with a copy listed in the Amherst Catalogue (London, 1908), p. 101, No. 517; bound in modern black morocco with blind stamped ornaments, gilt edges, formerly the property of Lord Crawford. It was bought in by Ridge for £20.10. The modern binding presupposes at least one, if not more, earlier bindings, and at each new binding the book was presumably trimmed more or

less. Can there be a comparison between this sumptuously bound copy and the Benton copy for any true lover of books, aside from the enormous difference in price paid for them?

Mr. Benton not only collected Books of Common Prayer but made also a study of them, especially from the legal point of view, as is amply shown in his short, comprehensive treatise,<sup>1</sup> printed in 1910.

The second, final edition of the catalogue, prepared in 1914, registered 685 books and pamphlets.<sup>2</sup> The collection was by this time quite complete and afforded a continuous historic study of the origin and development of the Book of Common Prayer. There was lacking only a copy of the first edition of the Elizabethan revision of 1559. The only copy known likely to be in the market within a reasonable time was the one in the Huth library. A year before the death of Mr. Quaritch, Jr., Mr. Benton gave him, in my presence, *carte blanche*, to buy for him the Huth copy when up for sale. Unfortunately both had died when the portion of the Huth library containing that particular copy was put upon the market. I urged the buying of the book at any price it should bring, reminding the authorities of Mr. Benton's oft-repeated statement that this copy would round out

<sup>1</sup> *The Book of Common Prayer, Its Origin and Growth*. Boston. Privately printed. (By D. B. Updike, the Merrymount Press.) 1910. (1), lxxviii, pp. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$  × 6 $\frac{1}{4}$  in., in 8s.

<sup>2</sup> *The Book of Common Prayer and Books Connected with Its Origin and Growth*. Second edition. Boston. Privately printed. (By D. B. Updike, the Merrymount Press.) 1914. viii, (1), 142 pp. 9 $\frac{5}{8}$  × 6 $\frac{3}{8}$  in., in 8s.

the collection which he had so generously bequeathed to the library. Notwithstanding, a bid was sent amounting to little more than one-half of the price the book finally brought, when it was purchased for Mr. Henry E. Huntington, of California.<sup>1</sup> Thus was lost a golden, a rare, opportunity to round out a splendid collection bequeathed to this library by its greatest benefactor whose oft-repeated statement as to the value of the book for the completion of the collection was well known. Will the time ever come when the authorities of our public libraries will listen in special cases to those who have made a specialty along certain lines rather than to those who have but a general knowledge of second-hand book values and trade? Were I a follower of Sir Oliver Lodge, I would feign have listened, at the time, for the well-known voice of the late owner of the Benton liturgical collection, giving expression to his disappointment and resentment in no uncertain tone and words, of which, like few mortals, he was a past master.

That quality rather than quantity is after all the proper standard by which the value of a library should be determined<sup>2</sup> was Mr. Benton's principle in the acquirement of this collection. He never bought an imperfect or a mutilated copy, with the exception of perhaps only one, a Salisbury primer of 1538. The original owner of

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<sup>1</sup> See my article "Elizabethan Prayer Books of 1559" in the *Anglican Theological Review*, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 310-313, December, 1918.

<sup>2</sup> G. W. Cole, *Book-Collectors as Benefactors of Public Libraries*, Chicago, 1915, p. 32.



this lay-folks' prayer book, soon after the Reformation, when the zeal for "the new religion" was most intense, struck out with pen and ink the prayers which referred to the Virgin Mary, and prayers for the dead. He likewise cut out a number of pages. The crossing out of so many sentences and whole prayers in this copy is also explained as a result of the Act of Parliament in 1549-50 (Statutes 3 and 4 Edw. VI, cap. 10): "for the abolishinge and puttinge awaye of diuerse Bookes and Images." It provided that any person might use any prymer, in English or Latin, set forth by the late king, "so that the sentences of Invocations or Prayer to Saintes in the same prymer be blotted or clerelye put out of the same."<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, it was not the habit of Mr. Benton to refuse buying a rare book because of the shabby condition of its binding, as has been the case with many book collectors. A complete text was the chief prerequisite, all else of secondary importance. Mr. Benton exemplified the true antiquarian spirit in that not one of the early and rare copies in his collection, even in case the binding was in more or less dilapidated condition, received a modern, sumptuous binding.

In order to preserve the historic character and the identity of these books, he had caused every rare book belonging to this portion of his large and valuable library to be put into specially made cases of the finest and most

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<sup>1</sup> See, also, W. K. Clay, *Private Prayers of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, pp. vii-viii.



durable morocco leather, with an inner, additional cover lined with asbestos, thus not only protecting the book itself against dust, heat, and smoke, but preserving, also, thereby, all the information as to former ownership, which, as we all know, is usually to be found on the inside of the covers or on the flyleaf, so often likewise destroyed in your sumptuous modern rebinding.

The outer cases are of three sizes only, viz., folio, quarto, and royal octavo; the inner cover fits exactly around the book. Whatever space there is between outer and inner case is filled in by additional layers of leather or wooden blocks, also covered with leather. Thus the whole collection, the backs of the cases being handsomely and uniformly lettered, creates a most harmonious impression.

This truly antiquarian treatment of early and rare books may appear to some readers and even to collectors an unnecessary idiosyncrasy; but to the careful bibliographer the data thus preserved in many cases are of great interest and importance, assisting often in the identification of copies in his possession or care with copies in other quarters of which he has heard or read.

A few references to the many instances in the Benton collection will, I trust, illustrate sufficiently and prove the reasonableness of my plea and contention.

The copy of the first issue of the First Edwardine liturgy, of March 7, 1549, was acquired in 1910 from the library of the late Colonel Thomas of Philadelphia, who had bought it through Quaritch at the sale of the library of

the late Bishop John Gott, by Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, March 20 and 21, 1908. On the back of the front cover is the following note written by William Gott, father of the late bishop: "This book belonged to Lord Crewe Bp. of Durham, time of Chas. 2. and descended to Lord Alvanley. At his death, his library was sold and I bought this vol.: the opposite leaf was the fly leaf of the old binding & is in the handwriting of the Bp." William Gott bought the book in 1858 (Alvanley sale, No. 294), bound up with a liturgy of Elizabeth, and one of James I. Gott had the books bound separately in 1858 by F. Bedford.

The note by Bishop Crewe reads: "N.B. This is so great a curiosity I apprehend ye value of it at least Ten Guineas."

Nathaniel Crew, third Baron Crew of Stene (1633-1722), was bishop of Durham from 1674 to 1722. Though twice married the bishop had no children, and at his death the barony of Crew became extinct. Richard Pepper Arden, Baron Alvanley (1745-1804), was lord chief justice of the Common Pleas. He was called to the House of Lords as Baron Alvanley, Cheshire, the title being derived from his brother's estate.<sup>1</sup> William Gott bought the book from the estate of the third baron, who died, childless, in 1857.

Whether the book was inherited by Bishop Crew or bought by him cannot be ascertained. It must have

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<sup>1</sup> "The life of Lord Alvanley," in William C. Townsend, *The Lives of Twelve Eminent Judges*. Vol. 1, pp. 129-161. London, 1846.

been originally a large-margin copy which was considerably trimmed when bound up with the other liturgies mentioned above. There are many brief manuscript notes and remarks, written on the margin, below and especially above the printed text in an early sixteenth-century hand and spelling. The contents and character of these notes point to a clergyman as their writer and owner of the book. When the book was bound up with the other liturgies, perhaps at the order of the Bishop of Durham, many of these brief comments were almost completely cut away by the trimming the book underwent at that time.

A copy of the Whitchurch edition of the Second Edwardine Prayer Book, dated 1552, was bought from Ellis of London, dealer in rare books, manuscripts, and prints, in 1910. Ellis had bought it through Quaritch, at an auction sale of Christie, Manson & Woods, December 17, 1907. It contains the two rare leaves of "An Acte for the Uniformitie of Common Prayer," lacking in most of the few copies known. There are two book plates on the back of the flyleaf, the one reading Scrope Berdmore, S.T.P. Coll. Mert. Custos, 1790; the other, Henry C. Compton, Esq., Manor House, Lyndhurst.

The Rev. Scrope Berdmore entered Merton College, Oxford, in 1762, aged about 15. He was warden of his college from 1790 until his death in 1810. In 1796 he was also vice-chancellor, the last of the long list of vice-chancellors. Henry Combe Compton, eldest son of John Compton, of the Manor House of Minestead,




Lindhurst, Hants, was born in 1789 and matriculated at Merton College in 1806. He probably acquired the book upon the death of the warden of his college, after whom his third son, the Rev. Berdmore Compton, M.A., Oxon, was named. Berdmore Compton was prebendary of St. Paul's and some time vicar of All Saints Church, Margaret Street, London, W. He died in 1896. From his estate the copy was bought by Ellis.

A handsome edition of the Liturgy, printed by Christopher Barker, in 1581, was bought from the library of the late Rev. J. H. Dent, Manor House, Hallaton, England, at a sale by Hodgson & Co., January 24, 1911. The book belonged originally to Sir Thomas Fairfax, whose autograph is at the top of the first of the three title pages. Denton, Yorkshire, was inherited by him in right of his mother. He was knighted by Queen Elizabeth in 1576 and died in 1599. His wife, Dorothy, was the daughter of George Gale, Esq., of Asham Grange. Sir Thomas, at one time of his life, must have given the book to his wife, for the reverse of the title-page of the Psalms, in this copy, has the manuscript lines: "This booke aperteinith to the Ladie Dorothy fairfax of Denton." Their oldest son, Sir Thomas, afterward first Lord of Fairfax, was born in 1560 and died in 1640. The younger son was Edward Fairfax, who died in 1635, the poet and translator of Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*. In the reign of Elizabeth, to whom he dedicated his translation of Tasso, Edward was known as a most zealous adherent of the Church of England. It is quite probable that the Prayer Book became the property of



Edward. On the death of the queen and the accession of James, the sovereign's name was changed with pen and ink in the Litany which begins on Sig. B ii, obverse, and extends to Sig. B v, reverse. On Sig. B ii, reverse, the same person who had changed the name of the sovereign wrote the marginal note:

“ She is deade and yet she liues: for one deathe two Lifes God geues | here on earthe in memorey: ther in heuen in endlesse glorie. | tho she semd to rayne alone: yet he wch owes of Thrones the Throne, | did sway his septer in hir hand; and blest w<sup>th</sup> peace and welth hir land | she was, she is his handmaid fayre: then Englandes quene now heuens cohare. Fa.:”

Sir Thomas, prosaic and strong partisan of James I, would scarce have penned such lines. The book, therefore, was in all probability the property of his younger brother, Edward.

An interesting edition of the Prayer Book is the Black-Letter Folio of 1636, printed by Robert Barker and by the Assignes of Iohn Bill. The copy of this edition in the Benton collection was likewise bought by Hodgson & Co., at the sale of the library of the late Rev. J. H. Dent. It was originally the property of William Juxon, of Little Compton, Archbishop of Canterbury, whose arms with gilt panels are on the front and back cover. The binding, therefore, dates shortly after 1660. He died June 4, 1663.

I mentioned above the Salisbury primer of 1538 as the only imperfect and mutilated book in the Benton collection. Of this prymer, “imprynted at Rowen, by

Nicholas Le Roux for Franchois Regnault, M.D. xxxviii," only four copies beside the Benton copy can be traced, viz., (1) the British Museum (C. 35b. 12) in a very fragmentary condition; (2) the Cambridge University Library, Henry Bradshaw's bequest; (3) Henry Hucks Gibbs, apparently the John Fuller Russell copy, sold June, 1885; and (4) the Marsh Library, Dublin, Ireland (see Royal Irish Academy, *Proceedings*, Series 3, Vol. 4, p. 426). Not one of these copies is perfect, for the reason, undoubtedly, mentioned above.

The Benton copy was bought at the Lord Amherst sale. The front incover has the bookplate of Burton-Constable reading: "Burton Constable | Library | Edward Constable." Lord Amherst bought the book at the Burton-Constable sale, Saturday, June 29, 1889. The library, located at Burton-Constable township in Yorkshire, England, was collected principally by Cuthbert Constable, M.D., an antiquary of no mean repute who died in 1747. The collecting was continued by William Constable, his son, who died in 1791. The whole estate and the library were inherited by Sir Thomas Hugh Clifford Constable (1762-1823).

On the flyleaf of the book is written: "bought at Mussel's Sale at Langford's in 1766 for  $K^{\overset{S}{}}f^{\overset{D}{}}$ ." S and D manifestly stand for shilling and pence. K, the tenth letter of the alphabet and f the sixth, indicate the price the book brought in 1766 as 10s-6d. Above this note in the right-hand upper corner we read "E. Mu . . . . | 1750," the rest of the name being cut off.

It is evidently to be restored to "E[benezer] Mussel [ of Bethnal Green]." Abraham Langford (1711-74) was a playwright of some reputation and one of the best known London auctioneers. In 1748 he succeeded "the great Mr. Cock," i.e., Christopher; or "Auctioneer" Cock, at the auction rooms in the northeast corner of the Piazza, Covent Garden. The sale of Mussel's library took place on May 30, 1766.

The most interesting book in the Benton collection from the point of view of the present article is a collection of six Savoy Conference documents, gathered by Thomas Case, one of the Presbyterian commissioners to the Conference in 1661. The history of the book is as follows: In 1743 the copy was bought by Edward Leeds, in whose handwriting these lines are found on the obverse side of the first flyleaf: "The contents are on the next leaf. This Volume was collected by the Reverend Mr. Tho<sup>s</sup> Case, one of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster in 1648 and one of the commissioners appointed by his Majestye to revise the Book of Common Prayer in 1661. Mr. Case's wife's Daughter by a former Husband married Dr. Hawes, a physitian in London, whose son the Reverend Mr. Tho<sup>s</sup> Hawes, Rector of Croxton in Cambridgeshire dying in 1743, I purchased it of his widow among some other books of her late Husband.

Edward Leeds

Croxton Sept. 27, 1743—"

Thomas Case (1598-1682) was a Presbyterian divine of great prominence. He was married August 8, 1637,



to Anne, daughter of Oswald Mosley of Ancoats, Manchester, and widow of Robert Booth, of Salford, whose family had been for generations most prominent. In 1641 he became rector of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street, London. Here he remained until 1649. His resentment against the late Episcopal government was very deep and lasting, and was emphasized in every one of his writings. Later he became rector of the great parish of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, beyond Holborn, whence he was ejected in 1662, upon his refusal to subscribe to the requirements of the Act of Uniformity. The same treatment was awarded to about two thousand Presbyterian ministers whose lives were shortly afterward written by Edmund Calamy, the younger. Most of these men, however, had been intruded into the benefices of ejected Anglican clergy, who were seldom given the opportunity to conform to non-conformity.<sup>1</sup>

To Dr. William Hawes, Case dedicated his best-known work, *Mount Pisgah*, in 1670.

Edward Leeds (1685-1758) was a serjeant-at-law. He was admitted to the Inner Temple in 1710; called to the bar in June, 1718, and attained eminence as a case lawyer. During his vacations he lived mainly on his

<sup>1</sup> See John Walker (1674-1747). *An attempt toward recovering an account of the numbers and sufferings of the clergy of the Church of England, in the late times of the Grand Rebellion: occasion'd by the ninth chapter (now the second volume) of Dr. Calamy's Abridgment of the Life of Mr. Baxter.* London: Printed by W. S. for J. Nicholson. 1714. (3), ii, (17) 436 pp. 35cm., in 2s. Geoffrey Bulmer Tatham. *Dr. John Walker and the sufferings of the clergy.* Cambridge. The University Press, 1911. vii (1), 429 pp. (Cambridge Historical Essays, No. 20.) 19 cm., in 8s.



estate at Croxton. He was a great lover of antiquity and a collector of books. It is probable that the binding of the collection of documents, in old English blue morocco, with gilt tooling and edges, was executed after it was purchased by Leeds in 1743. His eldest son, Edward Leeds, was born in 1728. He died, unmarried, in 1803. After his death his father's library was apparently sold at auction.

The next owner of the book was Sir Mark Masterman Sykes, whose beautiful gilt book label adorns the center of the front inside cover. Sykes was born in 1771. At the death of his father he became third baronet of Sledmere, in Yorkshire. He was a famous bibliophile and possessed one of the finest libraries in England. His personal memorandum, showing that he had entered this book in his catalogue, appears at the top of the inside cover: "Cat V 2 P 729 MMS Sledmere." A catalogue of his library was prepared by Henry John Todd. Todd, the well-known editor of Milton's works, was born in 1763 and died in 1845. For some time he was curate and canon in Canterbury Cathedral, and later rector of Settrington, Yorkshire. He was a zealous student of rare books and manuscripts. Sykes died in 1823. His library was sold in May and June, 1824. A note opposite the catalogue entry quoted above refers to this sale: "Sir M. Sykes's Sale pt III no 229:2.2.0; (commissions, etc.) 6s=a total of 2.8.0."

From Sykes's library the book passed into that of Richard Heber, indicated by the book stamp, "Bibliotheca

Heberiana," on the front page of the first flyleaf. Heber (1773-1833) was a half brother of Bishop Reginald Heber (1783-1826) and was a well-known book collector. The catalogue of his immense library is published in 12 parts, 1834-36; 8vo. The sale of his books extended from April 10, 1834, to February 22, 1837. Our book was bought by Robert Daly (1783-1872), Bishop of Cashel and Waterford, an eminent leader of the evangelical wing of the Church of England. His valuable library included a fine collection of Bibles and Prayer Books. This portion was sold at auction, June 25, 1858; and the proceeds were applied to benevolent purposes. To this sale refers a statement on the obverse of the back flyleaf, left-hand upper corner, viz., "A.S.X. Bp. of Cashels sale. No. 330. 1858." The copy was sold by Sotheby for £5.12.<sup>1</sup> and bought by William Gott, the father of John Gott, the Bishop of Truro. His bookplate and name are pasted on the inside front cover beneath that of Sykes. From Bishop Gott's library it was bought by Mr. Benton at the sale at Sotheby's, March 21, 1908.

Had Dr. Benton followed the custom of many well-known English and American book collectors, and had he rebound his books in sumptuous modern morocco bindings, most of the history of the transmission of these books would have been destroyed, and they would only be known to future generations of students as the Benton copies in the Boston Public Library. His sane and

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<sup>1</sup> See, also, Lowndes, *A Bibliographer's Manual*, London, 1865. Vol. 4, page 1948, col. 2.

sagacious method of incasing all these books without rebinding them has saved their history and individuality.

The few illustrations given above, which could be greatly augmented, will, I hope, have shown the desirability and the importance of saving every indication, even the apparently most insignificant, of former ownership on the part of collectors and buyers of early printed and otherwise rare copies of books and pamphlets. Let not the history of the transmission of such copies be destroyed by rebinding. The shabbiest cover and fly-leaf, with notes, book labels, and other indications of former ownership, be they ever so scanty and, at first glance, unintelligible, will be dearer to the true antiquary and the conscientious bibliographer than a row of sumptuously rebound books, delightful only to the proud owner and the superficial admiring visitor, but an eyesore and bitter disappointment to him who considers books entitled to personal individuality as much as his own self.

And, therefore, I beg collectors and lovers of these old friends, I beseech advisers, librarians, and bibliographers, engrave upon the tablets of your memory, and teach to your colleagues and assistants, present and future, the so often neglected injunction: save the historical character of books and pamphlets, owned by you, or intrusted to your care! Let all data remain in books! Yea

Maneant sua data libellis!

## BODLEY'S LIBRARIAN, EMERITUS

FALCONER MADAN, M.A., was born in 1851 and educated at Marlborough and Oxford. He entered Brasenose College in 1870, was elected a Fellow six years later, and in 1880 succeeded Ingram Bywater as Sub-Librarian of the Bodleian Library. During his period of office as Sub-Librarian Mr Madan was chiefly engaged in cataloguing manuscripts, four volumes of his *Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* being published between the years 1895 and 1906. From 1889 to 1913 he held the appointment of University Lecturer in Mediaeval Palaeography.

Mr. Madan succeeded E. W. B. Nicholson as Bodley's Librarian in June, 1912, and from that time devoted himself wholly to administrative work, which at first centered round the extensive rearrangements of library collections due to the building of the Underground Bookstore between the Bodleian and the Radcliffe Camera.

Among his more notable activities mention should be made of the *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, which he founded with a view to publishing a list of chief accessions and interesting persons in the work and progress of the Library. He also with characteristic energy organized in 1916 the most important and extensive exhibition of Shakespeariana held in Great Britain in connection with the tercentenary of Shakespeare's death.



In the annals of the Library Mr. Madan's period of office as Bodley's Librarian will be notable for the splendid gifts from Dr. Paget Toynbee of Italian books, from Mr. Edmund Backhouse of Chinese books, and for the Bywater bequest.

Wide as Mr. Madan's reputation is as a palaeographer it is still wider as a bibliographer. His first bibliographical work was *The Fight at Dame Europa's School*. In 1895 the first volume of his chief work, *The Oxford Press*, appeared. Mr. Madan's monograph on *The Gresleys of Drakelow*, with which family he is connected on his mother's side, is a monument to his patient and accurate methods of historical research.

In 1909 Mr. Madan was appointed Sanders Reader in Bibliography at the University of Cambridge, and was elected President of the Library Association for 1914-15.

## WORKS OF FALCONER MADAN

	<i>Date.</i>
Bibliography of the "Fight at Dame Europa's School"	1882.
Bibliography of Sacheverell . . . . .	1884.
<i>Edited:</i> H. Bradshaw, Half Century of Notes of John Dorne . . . . .	1886.
Why we believe the Gospels to contain genuine history (Oxford House papers) . . . . .	1889-90.
Oxford. A subject and alphabetical index. (Not published.) . . . . .	1887.
List of the Oxford city records . . . . .	1887.
Rough list of manuscript materials relating to the history of Oxford . . . . .	1887.

	<i>Date.</i>
<i>Edited:</i> A century of the Phoenix common room, Brasenose College 1786-1886 . . . . .	
Bodleian lending . . . . .	1888.
( <i>With W. E. Buckley.</i> ) The Brasenose calendar. [With supplement, 1889] . . . . .	1888.
The Brazen Nose. (Quatercentenary monographs, VIII) . . . . .	1888-89.
<i>Edited:</i> Stuart papers. 2 vols. (Roxburghe Club) .	1889.
Books in manuscript . . . . .	1893.
Early Oxford Press. (Oxford Hist. Soc.) Reissued as Vol. I of Oxford Books, 2 vols. . . . .	1895-1912.
A summary catalogue of Western MSS. in the Bod- leian Library. Vols. 3-6 . . . . .	1895-1906.
Bibliographical list of printed works of Dr. Pusey .	1897.
The Gresleys of Drakelowe . . . . .	1899.
A chart of Oxford printing '1468'-1900. (2 issues)	1904.
The Daniel Press. Wausau, Wisconsin . . . .	1904.
Obituary: Albert Watson. (Oxford Magazine) .	1904.
The original Bodleian copy of the first folio of Shakespeare. (With <i>S. Gibson and G. M. R.</i> <i>Turbett.</i> 3 issues) . . . . .	1905.
The Oxford University Press, a brief account. [2 issues] . . . . .	1908.
[Parts of the Oxford Historical Society's publica- tions.]	
Brasenose College. Quatercentenary monographs, I, II, VIII . . . . .	1909.
<i>Edited</i> (With G. H. Wakeling): The Brazen Nose. Vols. 1- . . . .	1909, &c.
[Miscellaneous contributions to bibliographical and other publications.]	

## MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA HELD AT ASBURY PARK, NEW JERSEY, JUNE 25, 1919

The Annual Meeting of the Society was held in the New Monterey Hotel, Asbury Park, New Jersey, at half past two o'clock on June 25, 1919, with the President, George Watson Cole, in the chair.

The following papers were read:

President's Address, *Bibliographical Ghosts*, by George Watson Cole, Librarian of the Henry E. Huntington Library, New York City.

*Bibliography of the War*, by Ernest C. Richardson, Librarian of Princeton University.

*Maneant sua data libellis; a Protest and a Plea*, by William Muss-Arnolt, of the Boston Public Library.

*Speeches of Daniel Webster*, by Clifford Blake Clapp, of the Henry E. Huntington Library.

Mr. Clapp's paper, of which he presented only a summary, is printed in the preceding number of the Society's *Papers*; the others appear in the present number.

Mr. Azariah S. Root, Librarian of Oberlin College, read a brief account of the career of Falconer Madan, Esq., who recently retired from the post of Bodley's Librarian at Oxford, prepared for the Society by Mr. Gibson of the Bodleian Library. Upon Mr. Root's motion it was voted that a committee consisting of Mr. Cole and Mr. Winship be instructed to send to Mr. Madan an expression of the Society's appreciation of his services to bibliography and his unfailing courtesy and generous assistance to those engaged in bibliographical researches.

Mr. George Parker Winship, Librarian of the Harry Elkins Widener Collection, Harvard University Library, reported for the Committee on the *Census of Incunabula*, that the printing of the *Census* was completed in December, 1918. The Introduction, List of Contributors, and Addenda of titles received too late for inclusion in the proper place were in the hands of the printers, and it was hoped to issue the completed work during the summer.

Mr. Cedric Chivers, of Bath, England, spoke informally in comment on Dr. Muss-Arnolt's paper, and gave interesting information concerning the ways in which a skilful binder can preserve the covering of old volumes. He particularly condemned the practice of dressing rare old books in bright-colored three-quarters Morocco leather, and described the method by which translucent vellum has been used to protect original covers, not only preserving the old material but retaining the notes or marks on the covers, which are frequently of importance in tracing the provenance of a copy. Mr. Chivers explained how these bindings came to be made, and his own discovery of the method of treating the material which makes them possible.

The Treasurer, Mr. Frederick W. Faxon, of Boston, presented his report, which is printed herewith.

Mr. William Dawson Johnston for the Committee to Nominate Officers reported the names, as given below, and, a ballot having been cast, they were unanimously elected:

*President:* George Watson Cole.

*Vice-Presidents:* George P. Winship, J. C. M. Hanson.

*Secretary:* Augustus H. Shearer.

*Treasurer:* Frederick W. Faxon.

*Councilors:* George A. Plimpton, to serve in the place of Henry Morse Stephens, deceased, until 1920. Worthington Chauncy Ford, to serve until 1923.

HENRY O. SEVERANCE, *Secretary*



REPORT OF THE TREASURER  
JULY 1918 TO JUNE 1919

The Bibliographical Society of America has, at the present time, 186 members in good standing, of whom 6 are new members since the last report. There are also 8 life members and 1 honorary member, making 195 in all. German and Austrian members are not reckoned this year.

We have, since our last report, dropped 3 members for non-payment of dues, and 4 members have resigned, namely, R. H. Dodd, Charles H. Brown, E. C. Hills, and F. H. Severance.

The payment of 1919 dues is more nearly complete at this time than usual, there being only 8 of our members at present unpaid for the current year.

I append report covering the year from July 1, 1918, to June 30, 1919:

RECEIPTS

July-December, 1918

Balance on hand July 1, 1918 .....	\$294.81	
Membership dues, 1918.....	24.00	
Interest on deposit, July-December, 1918.....	4.65	
University of Chicago Press:		
Sales of publications, January- June, 1918.....	58.75	
Sales of publications, July-De- cember, 1918.....	52.26	
H. S. White, payment toward Fiske Memorial .....	129.20	
		\$563.67

January-June, 1919

Dues 1919 (including several for 1918, and the sale of one back number to a member) .....	561.40	
Interest on deposit, January-June, 1919..	5.15	
		566.55
		\$1,130.22

## EXPENDITURES

July-December, 1918

University of Chicago Press:

Addressing, mailing, etc., publications.....	29.54	
<i>Papers</i> , vol. 12, no. 3-4.....	426.62	
		\$456.16

January-June, 1919

Addressing bills to members, postage, etc....	10.50	
Exchange on checks.....	20	
		10.70
		466.86
Balance in bank (State Street Trust Co., Boston)	663.36	
		\$1,130.22

## LIFE-MEMBERSHIP FUND

Principal

(For use only on Publications, not on regular *Papers*)

Balance on hand July 1, 1918.....	\$368.52	
No receipts		
No expenditures		
Balance on hand June 30, 1919 (Brookline Savings Bank).....	\$368.52	
		\$368.52

Interest

(Applicable to regular expenses of the Society)

Balance on hand July 1, 1918.....	52.56	
Accrued interest to June 30, 1919.....	15.18	
		67.74
No expenditures		
Balance on hand June 30, 1919 (Brookline Savings Bank).....	67.74	67.74
		67.74
Total.....		436.26

Respectfully submitted

F. W. FAXON, *Treasurer*

## NOTES OF BOOKS AND WORKERS

HAIL AND FAREWELL.—When those who go abroad to study in libraries get to England once more, they will miss the two most familiar faces. At Oxford, Falconer Madan is no longer Bodley's Librarian, and at the British Museum Mr. Barwick has been succeeded as Keeper of Printed Books by Alfred W. Pollard.

George F. Barwick entered the service of the Museum in 1879. In 1900 he became Superintendent of the Reading Room, where he had already established himself in the grateful affection not alone of those Americans who frequent that fount wherein the makers of books seek perpetual youth. Since 1914 he has guided, and guarded, the Library as Keeper. His administration is, and it is profoundly to be hoped may always be, unique in the two things which have chiefly worried him during these five years—Zeppelin bombs and war-time officials seeking deskroom. The former undoubtedly caused more anxiety, but the annoyance, as well as actual damage, caused by the latter cannot yet be appraised.

This Society is under obligations to Mr. Gibson of the Bodleian staff for the memorandum on Mr. Madan's work printed on a preceding page, which was read at the annual meeting. There is an account in No. 22 of the *Bodleian Quarterly Record* of the election of his successor, Dr. A. E. Cowley, who was ceremonially inducted into his chair of office with a Latin speech, on June 24. In a University oration on the following day Mr. Madan was referred to as "custos summus, librorum amator, antiquitatis helluo, reliquiarum Oxoniensium auctor religiosissimus, conservator fidelissimus." He has taken a study at the Bodleian and "is almost as regular in attendance as before, busily continuing his work on the history of Oxford printing."

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A MOHAWK SAINT.—In the Edward E. Ayer collection at the Newberry Library there is a little, imperfect, vellum-covered

volume which was picked up in a second-hand bookstore in Chicago for a sum so small as to be negligible. It lacks the title-page, one preliminary leaf, and fifteen pages of the text. It is a Spanish translation of P. Pierre Cholenec's account of the life of Catherine Tekakwitha, the "Indian saint" or "Lily of the Mohawks," and was published in Mexico in 1724. It is entered in Beristain under the name of Juan Hurtasum as follows: "La Gracia triunfante en la Vida de Catarina Tegacovita, India Iroquesa, y en las de otras de su Nacion. Imp. en Méjico por Hogal, 1724." The "Aprobacion" contains the following: "Escrita en francés por el Padre Francisco Colonec, de la sagrada Compania de Jesus, y traducida en castellano por el R. P. Juan de Vrtassum de la misma Compania."

The title appears under Urtassum in Dr. Nicolas León's *Bibliografía Mexicana del Siglo XVIII*, Part I, 1902, No. 956, and as No. 2772 in José Toribio Medina's *La Imprenta en Mexico*, 1909. Neither gives the location of a copy, but as Medina has the line-endings, he or one of his correspondents had presumably seen it.

The French original was first published in "Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, écrites des missions étrangères." These "Lettres" were translated into Spanish by P. Diego Davin, thus giving us two Spanish translations of the account. It has also been translated into German, in Stoecklein, J., *Allerhand Reisebeschreibungen*, Band 1, Th. 6, 1726, and into the Mohawk and Montagnais Indian languages.

CLARA A. SMITH

A GROLIER CLUB EXHIBITION.—Perhaps one of the most important exhibitions of printed books ever held in America was opened for the Annual Meeting of the Grolier Club of New York on the evening of January 23, and continued on public view until March 15, 1919.

The exhibition consisted of Early Printed Liturgical Books, with many books of private devotion. These were interesting



for a multitude of reasons aside from their subject-matter: first, perhaps, because of their place at the beginning of the history of the printed book, showing, as nothing else does, its direct development from the manuscript; then for their wealth of illustration, their importance among the first picture-books, as well as for the portrayal of contemporary manners and customs which the cuts contain; and, again, for the association of many of the copies with the great names of history, or with the famous collectors in whose libraries they have been preserved successively until today—among them the ponderous *Missal* of Henry III, a *Book of Hours* illuminated for Francis I when a boy, and another made for Catherine de Medici, which, it has been suggested, may have been used by her on the very night of the horrors of St. Bartholomew. That these service books have been a favorite subject with printers, who have been students of their art and collectors as well, is proved by the large number of volumes in the exhibition which had passed through the collections of the great Didot and William Morris, and it was pleasant for a lover of Morris to trace their influence upon him, both in the types and the quaint cuts of the very copies which he had owned and studied.

The most important book exhibited was the famous *Mainz Psalter* of Fust and Schoeffer, 1459, with its initial letters, which are the despair of printers in colors today. This copy of the second dated book is the only one of the few existing which has found its way to America. Other choice volumes were the only known copy of the first service book printed in England (a *Book of Hours* done by Caxton, about 1477), the *Mozarabic Psalter and Breviary* printed for Cardinal Ximenez, which are among the rarest and handsomest examples of Spanish printing, and colored and uncolored copies of the great *Missal*, published by Giunta in 1503 for the monks of Vallombrosa, called the most beautiful missal ever printed in Venice.

A *Treatise on the Mass*, by Savonarola (Florence, ca. 1496), was opened to show a cut representing the Elevation of the Host,

one of the most beautiful woodcuts of the Italian Renaissance. Early German decoration was represented by the *Psalter* of Hermann Nitschwitz, printed at the Cistercian Monastery at Zinna, ca. 1495, a curious work executed in honor of the Emperor Frederick and his son Maximilian, and called by Mr. Pollard the "most richly decorated German book of the 15th century." A case of lovely little Italian Books of Hours included two copies of Aldus' Greek *Horae* of 1497, with its noted woodcut of the Annunciation.

Fully two-thirds of the exhibition, however, was made up of the French Books of Hours so generally conceded to be, both in printing and illustration, among the most beautiful books ever printed. Nearly one hundred of these were exhibited, so that in addition to showing the illustrations usually accompanying the Hours of the Virgin, the Sequences, the Penitential Psalms, etc., it was possible to exhibit many of the varied forms of treatment, by different artists, of the same subject, as, for instance, the "Annunciation to the Shepherds," always one of the most charming of the illustrations, as well as to trace the same block through the offices of different printers, for the study of the interchange of blocks among the printers of the Parisian *Horae* has always been a puzzling one. Other volumes were opened at leaves showing the delicate tracery of the floral borders, the tiny woodcut figures of many of the border blocks, the elaborate marks of the various printers, and the cuts of the occupations of the months, with their very human interest, preceded by the Anatomical Man in all his gruesomeness, even as he appears in the popular almanac of today. By far the greater number were printed on vellum, and many were illuminated, but the beauty of the coloring in many cases failed to atone for the loss of the clear lines of the woodcut, and it was usually the uncolored copy that received the greater attention.

Antoine Vérard, the first publisher of these *Horae*, was represented by a superb copy of his *Grandes Heures* of August 20, 1490, followed by seven others produced by him. The work of Jean

du Pré, first Parisian printer of illustrated books, was shown by a volume printed for Meslier, February 14, 1490. The followers of Vêrard and Du Pré, though not originators, attained a perfection which is found especially in the work of Philippe Pigouchet and his principal publisher, Simon Vostre. No less than twenty-five volumes produced by them appeared in the exhibition, the beautiful editions of August 22 and September 16, 1498, probably the most noted of all the *Horae*, being seen in colored and uncolored copies. Examples of the five different sets of cuts which they used were shown—the early archaic, followed by the perfection of the simple French Gothic, and the sets showing German influence and the gradual deterioration which came in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. Long sets by Kerver, the Hardouyns, and the minor printers showed variety, but little originality, until the work of Geofroy Tory was reached, when new beauty, this time of the Renaissance, was infused into the old Book of Hours. Two varieties of Tory's noted edition of 1524-25 were exhibited.

In the sixteenth century, as evidenced especially by the books produced by Thielman Kerver, Higman and Eustace, the old Gothic border, with its manifold charms, went out of fashion; and in one case in the exhibition two copies of the same book were seen, one of them containing the usual border, and the other (whether by some such process as the use of a frisket, or by erasure, is not certain) appearing with only a narrow gold fillet painted about the type-page.

The exhibition closed with a group of books of English interest, including Caxton's *Hours according to Sarum Use*, already referred to; five early *Primers*, printed in England, or partially, at least, in the English language; three editions of the famous *Queen Elizabeth's Prayer-Book*, and the first edition of the *Book of Common Prayer*, known as the *First Book of Edward VI*, 1549.

R. S. G.







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